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WASHINGTON correspondents, it is well known, are the summit and pride of American newspaperdom. And thus they earn their pay:

Washington, July 29. . . . Lord Northcliffe suffered intensely in the heat of Washington today. He perspired so freely that he was obliged to change his clothing three times, not including the change of clothing to attend the McLean dinner. One new tropical suit was ruined by the havoc of perspiration.

Thus the Boston *Herald's* "special dispatch" from Washington. This is the cultural diet which Bostonians digest with their codfish balls at breakfast. O hub of the universe!

A CAT may look at a king—but a journalist dassent quote him. Wickham Steed, editor of the London *Times*, came to New York with Lord Northcliffe, and, chatting amiably with a reporter for the New York *Times*, told how in his opinion King George was personally responsible for about all the decent acts, particularly toward the Irish, for which Lloyd George was getting the credit. Whereat the reporter went back to his office and wrote a piece, quoting Wickham Steed's quotations of King George, and the *Times* printed it on its first page. The interview was cabled to London, and somehow it got transferred into the mouth of Lord Northcliffe himself. It was so printed in the country edition of Lord Northcliffe's own paper, the *Daily Mail;* for some reason it was omitted from the London edition. Now it seems that Lord Northcliffe had been busily attacking Lloyd George and Lord Curzon, and had even accused them of dishonesty. And it is well known in royal and journalistic circles that a king, like a president, is never—that is, hardly ever—to be quoted, certainly not without permission of his prime minister. So all sorts of dire punishment was meted out to poor Northcliffe. The British Ambassador in Washington canceled invitations to a dinner in his honor, and Lloyd George read a statement from King George that he never said any such thing. Altogether Northcliffe seemed to be in wrong. Only—he didn't say it at all; it was Steed; but it was Northcliffe's own paper that got things mixed—which is rather hard on that paragon of the press. Meanwhile Steed issues what looks like a denial but isn't: he merely says the interview contained "matter that should not have been published." For our part we hope that King George did say to Lloyd George, apropos of Ireland, that "I cannot have my people killed in this manner."

ONE more in the endless series of compromises between France and England is announced, and once more the papers announce that the crisis is past and that the two cabinets are again in perfect harmony. All this because England has agreed to join in asking Germany to facilitate passage of Allied troops to Upper Silesia if the Supreme Council decides to send them, and because France has agreed to an early meeting of the Supreme Council! As a matter of fact nothing whatever has been settled. The Supreme Council, when it meets, will find England, France, and Italy still deadlocked over the question of Upper Silesian boundary-lines; there will be another "crisis," another "compromise," and another "perfect harmony." So long as France continues to play the role of thick-and-thin defender of an impenitently imperialistic Poland, so long as Lloyd George continues to compromise where he knows that compromise means further conflict, the result can only be that kind of "deferred peace," which, as Lloyd George himself put it the other day, "is half a war." The British Premier need only live up to his own words: "Our sole anxiety is lest the Allies, by the unwise, harsh use of their undoubted power, should ram deeper and firmer into the soil those roots of future conflict which were withering on the surface in the sunshine of the great victory."

PRESIDENT HARDING'S Plymouth speech again seems to indicate that, despite his original beliefs that we must have some more forty million dollar battle-cruisers, he is steadily moving to the disarmament side. At least he begins to speak of the simple fact that peace is deeply involved in the question of large armaments. Perhaps by the time the Disarmament Conference meets he may become aware of the truth that armaments make for war invariably and against peace for those who possess them. Meanwhile, the growth of public opinion in favor of disarming is steady and in this country it will be accentuated by the announcement of the Secretary of the Treasury that we shall probably need as much as $4,600,000,000 to run the Government in 1922-23 if it continues on its present basis of expenditure. In Japan and Canada large cuts have been made in military and naval expenditure. Everywhere the desire of the plain people is for disarmament.

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CRAZY-QUILT diplomats having carefully scrambled Europe into more small states than there were statesmen to support, the small states, after a brief and calamitous career of riotous independence, are now engaged in the sober task of trying to unscramble the eggs and to rebuild themselves into larger and more workable units. The "Little Entente" between Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania was the first obvious symbol of this healthy tendency; the little Baltic states are following the lead. Finland perhaps has an excuse for independent existence; but Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are all too obviously tiny accidents of the war against bolshevism. Each of them consists virtually of a port which might have been used by the Bolshevists and a few thousand acres of potato fields. Their national characteristics, real as they are, are inadequate reason for separate existence, with all the expensive paraphernalia of foreign diplomats, customs officials, and passport functionaries which seem to be inevitable attributes of independent states; and their own statesmen, with native shrewdness, have perceived the threatening ruin and have taken steps toward a degree of alliance and of uniformity of law and tariff which will make possible worth-while economies. Two obstacles have hitherto stood in the way: Poland's desire to swallow Lithuania, and Soviet Russia's dislike of what might easily be the germ of another bellicose Poland. But Soviet Russia is today too busy with famine to protest, and Poland's star is obviously on the wane.

BY the refusal of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies to support President Obregon in his request to be given extraordinary powers to adjust Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, it is made apparent that this adjustment is not so simple as it seems to some citizens of the United States. President Obregon has repeatedly shown his willingness to deal fairly with this country. His latest request, which the Mexican Senate was willing to grant, is but another proof of his good faith. But it is also evident that he does not carry all Mexico with him. The action of the Chamber of Deputies, however, does not necessarily mean that that body is unwilling to negotiate with the United States. It merely is unwilling to act immediately, although expressing its desire to take up the matter of adjustment in due time. When the speed—or lack of it—of our Congress in considering certain measures is remembered, not too much fault will be found, we hope, with the Congress of Mexico. Meanwhile, there is no need for impatience.

THE final report of the grand jury investigating the Tulsa riots is just what might have been expected. It found that the Negroes were responsible for the riot; that an armed band of Negroes marched to the defense of Dick Rowland, a Negro who, they feared, might be lynched, when no attempt whatever had been made to lynch him—there being, of course, no precedent for such a thing! The report goes on to say that the large crowd of whites whom the Negroes found surrounding the jail were a peaceful crowd and that though they took part in the general melee that followed they were not to blame. The report does not quite say that the Negroes set the torch to their own homes or that certain of them were so foolish as to commit suicide in the hope of being immortalized as race riot victims. But it does decide that the underlying cause of the affair was the growth of a desire for social equality among the Negroes—and doubtless, also, the fact that many of them had accumulated fortunes quite too pretentious for their race and station. While finding that the police had not properly enforced the law, the report refused to blame the sheriff for the riot. Is it any wonder that the Negroes are quietly removing themselves and their bank accounts from the neighborhood of Tulsa? And should Tulsa expect much sympathy when it complains as it does of this *financial* loss to the community? For our part we wish that the Negroes had sufficient racial solidarity to make it certain that no Negro would stay for one minute within the confines of the most disgraced of our cities in 1921.

THE theatrical seizure by the Shipping Board of nine steamers leased by the United States Mail Steamship Company has been universally condemned as a gross mistake in policy and method and as certain to be a severe blow to the effort to keep American liners on the seas. Whatever its shortcomings this company was surely entitled to warning and notice, instead of which the vessels were spectacularly seized and turned over to a rival line until this procedure was stopped by an injunction. As the *Nautical Gazette* points out, the United States Mail has contributed so much, through its contract with the North German Lloyd and the establishment of a network of agencies, toward the starting of an important American passenger service that it was certainly entitled to consideration. It appears that the company was on the point of buying the best of the vessels which the Government had intrusted to it. If the Shipping Board through undue haste has deprived itself of a large purchaser of ships it has indeed blundered and blundered seriously. We trust that the exact facts will speedily be brought out.

STARTLING proof of the danger of friction growing out of our sudden competition with England on the high seas, to which *The Nation* gave an entire article in its series of editorials entitled No War With England (now reprinted in pamphlet form), comes from far-off Alexandria, Egypt. There the representatives of the Shipping Board are charging the British authorities with favoring British ships by intimidation and unfair discrimination. Even when American bids are below the English the former are discarded. As a result our Shipping Board has delivered "an ultimatum" to British shipowners that if fair treatment is not accorded to American vessels it will "declare an open market and haul anything anywhere at any rate." The Shipping Board also threatens to fall back upon the vicious retaliatory measures provided in the Jones Shipping Act and to discriminate against British ships if justice is not done to ours. We thus have a perfect setting for a most dangerous trade and shipping war. As we remarked on May 4, the "inevitable result" of our new venture on the seas is "bitterly intensified competition with all the special privileges and underhand practices which such competition cultivates." The only sane way to prevent so dangerous a struggle would seem to be a conference between the two nations and the working out of friendly trade arrangements or a division of the fields of activity so as to head off the possibility of another bloody war arising out of the industrial and commercial rivalry which Woodrow Wilson rightly declared to contain the "seed of war in the modern world."

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THE fight to end the standing disgrace to the American name in Haiti and Santo Domingo will not end until that disgrace is ended, however long that may be. The Senate Committee of Inquiry which has begun its sessions can do much to stop at once the intolerable wrongs this Government has committed in those unfortunate countries, if it will. But it will be a great misfortune if its sessions are hurried, or if there is no opportunity afforded to cross-examine witnesses and to subpoena those who have facts to give, notably certain witnesses from official life. The facts as to the atrocities are no more important than a clear-cut presentation of the whole picture of our official imperialism. If the investigators go at the matter in the right spirit they will show as complete a piece of brutal overseas conquest, without the slightest consideration for the victims, as can be produced anywhere in modern times. But to accomplish this the committee's hearings must be open and complete and freest opportunity given to present the Haitian and Santo Dominican side, and, unless immunity is not only guaranteed by the committee but made certain no native witness will dare testify to anything unfavorable.

LITTLE Liberia was forced into the war because a few perfectly good German ships had taken refuge in her harbors, and the noble Allies could not get their hands on those ships so long as Liberia remained a neutral. In the generous days of 1918, our Government sweetly promised to "lend" Liberia five million dollars, whether to aid in outfitting the Liberian army or to facilitate Liberian purchases of American supplies does not appear in the public record. At any rate the Liberians were egregiously slow; they had drawn only $25,000 on the five million before our Congress stopped further advances to foreign Powers. This $25,000 paid the Liberian expenses at that Versailles Peace Conference at which the representatives of the small Powers provided such attractive mural decoration. Now President Harding and Secretary Hughes have discovered that a "moral obligation" rests upon the United States to pay the rest of the proffered loan. Whatever America can do to give real help to the Negro republic of Liberia should be done; but somehow we should be more enthusiastic about that "moral obligation" if President Harding had not added that the loan was "highly important from the standpoint of the proper protection and promotion of American commercial interests on the west coast of Africa."

IN refusing to adopt a resolution of censure for the various kidnappings, riots, and other manifestations of mob spirit staged by representatives of the Legion, the New York County Committee of the American Legion has condoned lawlessness and set its face directly against the law and order which it so loudly champions. Meanwhile the lawlessness continues, and a Socialist speaker of as honorable standing as Mrs. Ida Crouch Hazlett is driven from town to town by zealous Legionnaires who pelt her with doughnuts to show their passionate desire to uphold the Government of the United States. The Ku Klux Klan, also, is not so unpopular even in Texas as might be expected. A resolution denouncing that organization was on July 27 tabled by the Texas Legislature, although Imperial Wizard Simmons has revoked the charter of the Beaumont County, Texas, Chapter for repeated lawlessness. But the Dallas *Daily News* says: "So ugly and prolific has it [the Klan's lawlessness] become that it cannot be tolerated in Texas."

THE accusation brought against Governor Small of Illinois, indicted by the Sangamon County grand jury on charges of embezzlement of public funds and conspiracy to defraud the State, is serious indeed, though it seems a hard thing that any turn of affairs should be able to make anyone take Len Small very seriously. The extent to which party politics have dictated the accusation does not at present appear, and the impartial critic may continue to give the Governor the benefit of the doubt until the situation clears, and the State the benefit of the laugh for the plight in which it finds itself as a result of Republican politics and the rivalry between the State and the Chicago machines. Meanwhile Governor Small contributes to the affair a comic aspect by running here and there over the State of Lincoln and Grant and showing clean heels—however stained his hands may or may not turn out to be—to the authorities of Sangamon County.

IN the August number of *The Biblio* a curious investigator gives some interesting figures regarding the books which, to judge by the want columns in *The Publishers' Weekly*, have been most in demand in this country during the past ten weeks. "Jurgen," it seems, has stood highest on the list, with 21 advertisers asking for it; next comes Melville's "Moby Dick," with 20, and H. L. Mencken's "American Language," with 16; after them follow, in the order and with the ardor noted, William McFee's "Ocean Tramp" (12), Mencken's "Ventures into Verse" (11), Theodore Dreiser's "Genius" (9), Joseph Hergesheimer's "Three Black Pennys" (7), Ambrose Bierce's "Devil's Dictionary" (6), Mrs. Eddy's "Science and Health" (4), and Frank Norris's "Blix" (4). These are the individual books. When it comes to authors in general, first editions of works by the following are sought most frequently: Edgar Saltus (21), James Branch Cabell (21), Herman Melville (20), Joseph Conrad (17), John Masefield (16), W. D. Howells (16), B. L. Taylor (13), Mark Twain (12), James Huneker (10), Ambrose Bierce (9). Questions rise to the mind. Is it the aspect of these books admitting some of them to lists of "curiosa" which catches the collector? Hardly, for here are Howells and B. L. T., who are let in by their recent deaths, one supposes. Is it the fact that the books sought for have been suppressed by time ("Moby Dick") or the censor ("Jurgen") or limitation of edition ("The American Language") which whets the appetite? And what of Edgar Saltus whose death—it took place in New York on July 31—is just announced. He has—from the ordinary point of view—had a stranger, dimmer, queerer career than Mr. Cabell had had before the Comstockians changed all that. Now President Harding has praised "The Imperial Purple." Are all good Republicans rushing to buy Mr. Saltus's book?

The increased prevalence of divorce . . . was attributed by Dr. Ernest E. Tucker of New York today at the annual convention of the American Osteopathic Association to a change in function of the pituitary gland.—*News item.*

OUR ancestors when they wed,
Having felt the fatal dart,
Took the matter quite to heart
Till it had gone to the head;

But we moderns when we marry,
Knowing better what is best,
Have to do no more than test
The astute pituitary.

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The Political Breakdown in New York City

FOR weeks past a coalition committee, headed by Mr. Joseph M. Price, has been busily engaged in seeking an amalgamation of the anti-Tammany forces in New York and in selecting a fusion candidate for Mayor. The resultant spectacle has been one to cause dismay to all who desire an ending of the city's misgovernment. Indeed, clearer proof of the breakdown of our present political government it would be hard to discover. The chief city of the land, containing some six millions of people, is shown to be utterly destitute of leadership. The only men who were considered by the fusion committee for the mayoralty nomination were Henry H. Curran, president of the Borough of Manhattan, and Senator C. C. Lockwood, whose prominence is due solely to his having been chairman of the Lockwood Investigating Committee of the Legislature—its solid achievements are due to its counsel, Mr. Samuel Untermyer, and not to its chairman. A man of uprightness and of pleasing personality, he is without force and without the power to make an effective address. Both Mr. Curran and Mr. Lockwood, it may be said without unkindness, are admirably fitted to be majors and quartermasters in the army, or to hold other executive offices carrying $4,000 a year salaries. They are without the vision or the strength to take an office which has frequently been declared to be second in importance only to that of the President of the United States. Yet Mr. Curran has been selected, although of mediocre ability and a mediocre record.

Of the independent candidates, it may also be said that they are of inferior caliber. Major La Guardia, president of the Board of Aldermen, is a wide-awake Italian-American with the gift of speech, but excitable and frequently leaning toward demagoguery. Two others from Brooklyn have played their roles in that borough for years, but made no general appeal. There is not a single candidate to stir the public imagination; not one who can make a ringing, earnest assault upon the Tammany forces with a program to challenge and the promise of power, of unfettered independence, of vigorous service for and to the people. It is true that profiting by the mistakes of the Mitchel campaign the captain of industry has been relegated to the rear; there are to be no very rich men raising a million dollar fund to be wasted to the very verge of criminality in the name of reform. On the other hand, the fusion committee has been swamped by regular Republicans, who dominated it. The first result of that is that all the independent Democrats who might be available were ruled out. So was a woman like Miss Lillian Wald, beloved of a large section of the city; the metropolis is not yet ready for the idea of seating a woman as mayor, much less the deed. So was a labor leader like Sidney Hillman; our political ignorance and misconceptions dub him a "revolutionary leader of trade unionism." That he is if by that is meant a man of large abilities who has done wonders to revolutionize a huge industry in the interest of workers and public and is a remarkable executive.

The truth is that this year New York does not know leadership when it sees it and is not even turning to its college presidents or its well-known merchants to lead. It is seeking light solely among its respectable politicians and the result is that today, with all the reputable press of the city against him, there is every indication that Mayor Hylan, the abominated, will be reelected by heavy majorities. That is not only because leadership is bankrupt. The Mayor has maneuvered himself into a position in which he is championing (doubtless with his tongue in his cheek) the interests of the plain people. He has been friendly to all groups, including the Germans; he has stood for free speech and the right of assembly, and he has, of course, battled for the Irish—both Mrs. MacSwiney and Eamon de Valera received the freedom of the city. But most important of all remains the fact that, however sterilized the committee is so far as Big Business is concerned, it is still seeking to impose good government from above. We can only repeat what we said a couple of months ago, that we cannot see much chance for reform in our cities until reform can be identified with the hopes of the plain people, until the people are convinced that the anti-machine forces are not marshaled by the dominant capitalistic powers, that they are honestly opposed to special privilege, and are led by men the plain people know to be trustworthy. Until this comes to pass, the electorate, save where there is a clear-cut moral issue, is certain to prefer the existing evils to those they know not of.

As for the reform platform, it has been widely heralded as so "socialistic" as to threaten the very foundations of society and to merit the immediate attention of those legislators who purged Albany of the Socialists, and that of our Fifth Estate, the American Legion. A perusal of this interesting document shows that there is nothing radical about it so far as public utilities is concerned. It does not come out for public ownership but "favors a unified traction system supplying an adequate satisfactory service at a five-cent fare" besides which it favors "a substantial reduction in the present telephone, gas, and electricity rates." It is hot for good schools and economies, and in housing matters it favors a permanent city housing staff empowered to study the problem of congestion and to devise a program for the development of unoccupied land. The platform would also give to the city power to condemn vacant land for housing purposes "and to sell, hold, or lease land so condemned, subject to proper conditions. . . ."

On the question of marketing it does move toward advanced ground, for the platform calls for an early report by the Markets Commissioner on a plan "for the sale by the city of coal, ice, and the establishment of municipal milk pasteurization plants in order to stop profiteering in these necessities of life." This will, of course, shock a great many people, particularly those who are not aware that Governor Smith recommended that the State should take over the entire milk business. Again, the platform calls for local machinery to minimize local unemployment through city employment bureaus and the development of plans to expedite city public works in periods of unemployment. Finally there is an excellent plank on free speech, demanding public discussion free from government censorship, opposing the arbitrary denial of the use of school facilities for public meetings, and objecting to the arbitrary power vested by the school board in a single individual to judge as to what does or does not constitute loyalty to our institutions. If this platform is treason, our hundred per centers will know how to make the most of it. But it will never set the metropolis on fire.

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Russia Rediscovered

A WHOLE web of lies has been barred from the newspaper headlines by Senator France's expedition into Russia and by the Gorki-Hoover-Kamenev correspondence about relief work in Russia. Senator France has obtained the release of Mrs. Marguerite Harrison, the American newspaperwoman so long held in confinement in Moscow, and has brought her out to Riga with him. Mrs. Harrison, instead of confirming the sensational stories with which the New York *World* and other papers have inflamed the passions and hates of the American people, quietly reports that she was well treated in prison, that she spent only six days in solitary confinement, not in a dungeon but "in a room like a small single room at a hotel," and that "generally speaking the rations were as good as or better than in the soviet dining-rooms outside." Senator France reports that he found the soviet leaders "open-minded" and that the result of the famine was not the general indignation and uprising against the soviet leaders which the Riga, Helsingfors, and other ignorantly distant correspondents report with something very like gleeful sadism, but rather "a truce of all parties" and a rallying to the Government such as usually occurs in periods of national crisis. And finally the direct requests made by Mr. Hoover and Mr. Hughes for the release of the half-dozen American prisoners held in Russia has revealed the fact, hitherto carefully concealed by our State Department, that Soviet Russia had been ready to free those prisoners any time that the American Government would deign to recognize the existence of the Government which rules the hundred odd millions of Russians and to make a direct request for such release.

By the release of the American prisoners and by the acceptance of Mr. Hoover's other conditions, Soviet Russia has opened the way for immediate large-scale relief. It is now up to Mr. Hoover promptly to redeem the pledge made in his telegram of July 24 to Maxim Gorki:

> The American Relief Administration . . . together with other cooperating charitable American organizations supported wholly through the generosity of the American people, have funds in hand by which assistance for the children and for the sick can be undertaken immediately. . . . We are today caring for 3,500,000 of children in ten different countries and would be willing to furnish the necessary supplement of food, clothing, and medical supplies to a million children in Russia as rapidly as organization could be effected. . . . The Relief Administration is prepared as usual to make a free and frank undertaking, first, that it will within its resources supply all children and invalids alike without regard to race, creed, or social status; second, that its representatives and assistants in Russia will engage in no political activity.

Funds are in hand, says Mr. Hoover. Whatever further sums may be raised by independent organizations, then, there can be no excuse for any delay in prompt relief to the million children and invalids whom Mr. Hoover says he can aid at once. Intimate cooperation will be necessary, and the more rapidly contact is established the sooner Mr. Hoover's agents can free themselves of the prepossessions which have hitherto blinded them to the needs and opportunities for relief work in Russia. For more than a year now the Quakers have been doing relief work in Russia. Their workers have not been arrested. Their supplies have not been seized or stolen. They have been given warehouses of their own, secretaries, chauffeurs, gasoline, the readiest and most sympathetic aid and collaboration. Their pioneer efforts have proved the falsehood of the propaganda stories about the impossibility of independent relief work under the soviet system. If Mr. Hoover's workers show the same resolute abstention from politics and half of the same devotion they will learn the same lesson, though their task will be doubly hard because of the political record of the Relief Administration in the Baltic States where, whether with Mr. Hoover's approval or not, its agents have been very far from keeping their fingers—and their food—out of politics.

But we owe more to Russia than redemption of Mr. Hoover's pledge. It was with a sense of shame that we read that Mr. Hoover, speaking unofficially for the American people, made American aid contingent upon political conditions. The Americans in Russian prisons were political prisoners, similar in status to the thousands of Russians still lodged in American jails. They were, to be sure, fewer in number, and they were better treated than Russians have been in our jails. Had the Soviet Government been callous to famine and starvation, it might have demanded reciprocity in this release of prisoners. It might have asked that America first agree to release the remaining victims of the shameful raids of a year and a half ago. Its omission of such a retort leaves the obligation upon the American Government doubly strong. A comparison of the treatment of American prisoners in Russia and of Russian prisoners in America would bring a sting of shame to any self-respecting American cheek. Let us not make things worse by failure in the implied obligation of mutuality.

Obviously the beginning of semi-official relief work implies the opening of a new chapter in Russian-American relations. When the relief organization directed by the Secretary of Commerce begins extensive operations in cooperation with soviet officials, the Secretary of State will have to abandon the sullen refusal to face facts which has hitherto characterized our official attitude to Russia. Instead of relying upon ignorant and prejudiced interpretations of Russian newspapers and upon the silly rumors and reports current in the Baltic capitals, the State Department will have to listen to a flood of honest information such as must come from these relief workers. Our Government may attempt to save its face by half-measures and more propagandist chatter, or it might, as we hope it will, generously adopt the advice of Senator France, stalwart Maryland Republican, who, after studying the situation on the spot, makes these recommendations:

> The first step should be universal recognition of the Soviet Government, which is the Government *de facto* founded on the will of nearly the whole Russian nation. This would remove a great part of soviet suspicion and hostility toward the outer world, which is not to be wondered at in view of the numerous attempts at counter-revolution that have been fomented and aided in foreign capitals. Then Russia should be lent money for her immediate needs—to buy food, means of transport, agricultural machinery, and other needed manufactured goods. In saying this I am regarding Russia as a whole, without reference to the present famine situation in particular. For that no relief can be too great or above all too speedy. But first and last my message to the American people is this: Give these folks a chance; they haven't had one yet.

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Hints for an Essay

SOME day we hope that some one will undertake a study of the role which money has played and still plays in our imaginative literature as contrasted with that which it plays in our actual existence. The genteel tradition has been singularly serene, we suspect it will be discovered, in behaving as if money were a thing which may be taken for granted, as the genteel always like to behave. Irving loved to tell tales about the search for hidden treasure, and he almost developed a technique for such tales; Poe loved to tell tales implying a gorgeous expenditure of money aiming to make human life superb enough to fit the superb backgrounds of passion and color which he invented. But neither of them in any but rather casual fashion studied the effect upon human character of getting or having or losing money. Cooper's people are either above the battle for comfort by the fact of already possessing what they need or else they are sons of the forest who could hardly use money if they had it and so concern themselves very little with such affairs. In Hawthorne there is, to be sure, the unforgettable picture of the Pyncheons fallen from prosperity to poverty, yet Hawthorne, in spite of his personal experience, saw little in the theme, and held his pen to other aspects of morality. Though the world of Henry James certainly revolves upon a golden axis, he rarely studies money for itself, as if it were not quite good form to mention a character so low. And even Howells, even in "The Rise of Silas Lapham," sees money in a somewhat dim distance: the plight of the Lapham family is concerned rather with the social status of its daughters than with the financial status of its father.

In his uncompleted Trilogy of Desire—"The Financier," "The Titan"—Theodore Dreiser has thrown a lurid light over the methods of money in America, and within the past few months Booth Tarkington in "Alice Adams" has made excellent tragicomedy out of the lack of money. Yet, many minor illustrations as we may remember, America has never given such expression to the national attitude toward money—if America has one—as has France in the pages of Balzac. The nearest we come to it, research would probably reveal, is in Mark Twain. With him money becomes almost as vivid as an actual character. Colonel Sellers in "The Gilded Age" is a very nympholept of wealth and gives his life to a passionate, absurd pursuit of the nymph whom he is always sure of reaching in a moment more and for whom he makes now the most preposterous claims. Herein Mark Twain sums up all speculating America in its petty aspects: all the farmers who are sure their farms will soon be building-lots; all the grain buyers in all the Gopher Prairies who are sure they can make a fortune out of bucket-shops; all the little companies who swear there is oil under the land they have just leased; all the men who have taken stock in the newest invention of the village blacksmith. It was the farce in such things that Mark Twain roared over and deliciously reproduced. But in his later life he came, after his own disappointments, to another frame of mind. In such stories as "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" he brought the satirist and the moralist to bear upon a problem which in the career of Colonel Sellers had aroused only Mark Twain's mirth.

We wish that E. W. Howe, of Kansas, would write on What Mark Twain Shows About Money in His Books!

Revamping the Vampires

THE movie censors have begun their work and right at the start they are confronted with a problem: What shall be done with the vampires? Do they not obviously corrupt the morals of the young—or have the young of today morals? And if they have no morals—as more than one passionate preacher has hinted—will not the vampires, those black-gowned, sylph-like, cigarette-smoking, eye-rolling enemies of their own sex, keep them from ever acquiring any? These, in addition to the hot weather, are the questions that keep a respectable movie censor awake nights. The only question they never have to ask is: Should the young have morals? For to that, of course, there can be only one answer.

Well, the matter is by no means a simple one. The movie censors must determine who—and even what—is a vampire. There are some types which are easy enough to recognize and delete. The common type of vampire, besides being possessed of the attributes suggested above, is usually a widow—often grass—who reclines on a chaise-longue in a Louis XIV drawing room, confides in her French maid, and is reckless about summoning messenger boys whom she tips lavishly. Of the undesirability of this type there can be no question. On the Louis XIV count alone she should be instantly disqualified. But on moral grounds is it doubtful if there is any need of disqualifying her. Everyone knows that, diabolically clever as she may seem in the first four reels, her French maid will betray her in the fifth, and the young wife will regain, just through her kind heart and simple faith, the husband who will be only too glad to sink, pipe in mouth, into the easy chair by the fire, on the arm of which the young wife sits, while for a discreet number of film-feet they gaze into the leaping flames and see a vision of Arthur, Junior, taking the oath of office as Chief Justice of the State Court of Appeals, not to appear too romantic and unlike life. The morals of the young can never be corrupted so. The only persons who could object would be those dyspeptic, middle-aged souls who dislike lithe, willowy ladies on principle, and who even have some inexplicable aversion to kind and simple young wives.

No, it is another species of vampire that will test the mettle of the censor, a species where the triumph of virtue over vice is not quite so apparent. Lilith, Cleopatra, Madame Du Barry—where is the kind young wife in their stories? Would it not be better, therefore, in the interest of purity, to take some liberties with the text in these and similar film dramas? Could it not be shown that Cleopatra allowed herself to be stung by an asp in her rage and chagrin because Antony, yielding to the unchanging goodness of his Octavia, had repudiated her in scathing terms? Would not Madame Du Barry shine as a social worker trying to interest Louis XV in the fatherless children of France? Or could not Lilith be discovered to be Adam's brother's wife engaged in a little conspiracy with Adam to buy a birthday present for Eve, and so everything be explained in the end? Plainly some amendments of this sort would be preferable to the ruthless elimination of these ladies, especially when the young would profit so indubitably by the change. A movie censor would certainly not shrink from the attempt to reform a vampire, however hopeless a task it might seem to less courageous persons.

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Is Russia Abandoning Communism?

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

FOREWORD.—I know barely enough Russian to exchange cigarettes for eggs or to call a telephone number; I spent only five weeks in Russia, two days in Petrograd and the rest in and about Moscow. And in Moscow I received none of that careful attention which is reputed to be the lot of foreign visitors but had to discover means of visiting institutions and to arrange interviews for myself. After so scant a study of Russia one hesitates to follow in the steps of Ransome, Alsberg, Bertrand Russell, Brailsford, Olgin, and the others in reporting so tremendous and complicated a phenomenon as Soviet Russia. I had not known pre-revolutionary Russia nor did I know the Russian people; I was constantly finding the prejudices and preferences of one brought up in the atmosphere of parliamentary democracy and bourgeois liberalism interfering with objective judgment of a frankly revolutionary experiment. I had, however, the advantage of somewhat unusual and intimate personal friendships; and in French, German, or English I was able to talk freely with most of the Russians with whom I was thrown in contact—and I met Russians of every shade of political opinion. This and succeeding articles are the resultant product of an honest endeavor to fill *The Nation's* commission to report facts in Russia in June and July, 1921, exactly as I found them. —L. S. G.

ALL Russia is talking of "the new economic policy." Nevski Prospect, Petrograd, was a dull street when I walked up it in early June. The new policy was just becoming visible in the shop-windows. A pathetic crowd gathered hungrily about a window display of a dozen lonely cakes and one small plate of candy. A milliner's shop was proud with two new hats. A jeweler exposed a score of watches, crystals, a few wrist-watch holders, and a single brooch. An artificial flower shop was very gay with old stock freshly dusted, and a crockery store had its windows full of china, some of it of soviet make, with hammer and sickle decorations, and the glazed legend "Workers of the world, unite." But between these colorful windows were empty rows that told the story of the suppression of private bargaining that had been one of the early acts of the bolshevist regime. The vast majority of the show windows were boarded up, or broken, or left ugly with three years' accumulation of dust. Old photographs of Kerensky generals, rotting rubber syringes and hot water bags, stiff collars and cuffs, over-ornate thermometers, dainty little coffee-cups, lay untouched and unwanted. The Fifth Avenue of Petrograd had a dead, useless air. Workers' needs were supplied in big soviet stores; the paraphernalia of bourgeois luxury was hardly to be had at all. The communist government had been doing its best to create a communist regime. The few reopening shops only emphasized the communist fact.

A month later I came back to Petrograd. The Nevski Prospect was a livelier street. Little tea-rooms had sprouted in every second block. The jeweler displayed a score of necklaces and stick-pins and ear-rings beside his watch crystals; the milliner's shop flaunted a dozen gaudy bonnets, and other modistes were competing. Petrograd had not escaped the process that I had watched in Moscow. Cautiously the shopkeepers had begun to display wares hidden since Kerensky and the bourgeois democratic regime went out. A corset would appear here one day, down the street a dozen books, next day a score of books and two corsets, and around the corner a few toys and some eau-de-cologne—so day by day the streets resumed the familiar occidental air, and the business of buying and selling for private profit crept back into the visible life of the Russian cities—while Lenin and Trotzky still sat in the Kremlin, arguing the necessity of compromise and moderation to recalcitrant communist extremists.

Where for years there had been but one market and that illegal, subject to occasional police raids, there are today eleven huge markets in Moscow, each a great ant-hill of bustle and barter, where men and women greedily count thousand ruble notes, exchange cigarettes for eggs, haggle over the price of a chicken, try to sell silver cigarette cases for potatoes and bread, buy and sell, buy and sell, just as in the public markets of old-time capitalist Russia, or of any other capitalist country where the peasants bring their products in person to exchange for the money and goods of the city. These were the visible signs of the new economic policy.

What is this new economic policy? First, it is the abandonment of the system of forcible requisition of the entire surplus crop of each farmer; instead the peasant is to be taxed a certain percentage of his crop. Second, it is the reestablishment of "free (private) trade"—the process of sale and exchange between individuals once more becomes legal. The cooperatives are to have enlarged powers, and are to become the middlemen exchanging country and city products; small industry is to be encouraged rather than discouraged; the economic administration is to be decentralized; and finally certain factories will be leased to private individuals or corporations—an extension of the policy of concessions to foreigners. Factory workers are to be permitted to exchange a certain percentage of their output for peasant-raised food; and all city workers are to have their money wages raised (wages are paid chiefly in kind in Russia) in order to encourage the peasants to bring their produce into the cities and to stimulate the process of private sale and exchange.

This is the scheme. Realizations, even, and perhaps especially in Soviet Russia, differ from dreams. Fundamentally it is an attempt to draw new strength by stimulating private initiative through private profit—and that is, of course, a contradiction of communist theory. The Communists believe that no compromise really matters as long as they, conscious of their ultimate goal, retain the reins of power. As Bucharin put it, "We will make any economic compromise in order to avoid the necessity of political compromise." Political compromise would mean sharing power with those who do not have a clear vision of the goal. There is a story that someone complained to Lenin that he was inaugurating a policy for advocacy of which he had, only a few months before, sent Mensheviks to jail.[1] "Yes," he is said to have answered, "if necessary, we will adopt the 'Cadet' policies, but we will do it ourselves, and keep the Cadets in jail. The Bolsheviks are very proud of their readiness to go around obstacles when they cannot remove them; they believe that no compromise is dangerous so long as they do not share power with others.

[1] In a letter to Ernest Nobs, the Swiss Socialist, dated December 2, 1920, Lenin declared that defenders of "free trade" must be treated as enemies of the workers, virtually as exploiters.

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To the peasant mind requisition has seemed mere robbery. The state took, and gave nothing in return. Preobrajenski estimates that in 1918, 1919, and 1920 the peasants averaged an annual contribution of $250,000,000 worth of grain to the state each year, in return for which they received only virtually worthless paper money. (Russian peasants must have closets full of paper money. You never see any but new money in Moscow; the presses turn out money so fast that they have actually created a paper crisis, and the Government has had to reduce by half the size of the thousand ruble note.) It could not be expected that the peasants would continue such gifts indefinitely. The obvious solution is to exchange city products for grain. But city products do not exist; and they cannot be produced until the workers get more bread. The chief reasons for the present low productivity of factory workers are, first, actual undernourishment, and, second, that stolen time is used to make small products such as flint-lights which can be exchanged for food. Hence the need of stimulating small industry, of using every means to develop large industry, even by foreign capitalists, in order to develop a production sufficient to encourage larger crops in exchange. Meanwhile the levy on farm produce or "food tax" is virtually a partial requisition. Theoretically it will be abandoned as soon as production is developed.

The basis of economic reorganization is bread. Everything in Russia depends on bread. Is it a question of opening a new factory? It is easier to get the tools and raw materials, scarce as they are, than to be sure of a steady supply of bread. When I first came through Petrograd the city had just passed another "herring week" of fish without bread. The Putilov Works had been closed temporarily and the workers sent out to work on the land. The industrial problem is first of all a problem of inducing the peasants to sow enough grain, and to give or sell their surplus grain to the cities. During the civil wars the entire product of the peasants above their own direst needs was taken from them by force. So long as the war lasted, the peasants, realizing that it was the Bolsheviks who had given them the land, and that the opposing forces represented the big landowners, more or less permitted such requisition. But each year they sowed less grain and when peace removed the fear of losing their land they resisted and demanded the right to sell their produce freely. A series of petty peasant revolts swept the Ukraine last winter. The Communists answered with the famous "new economic policy."

Does this mean that Russia is abandoning communism, that the revolutionary pendulum has swung its course, and that Russia is to follow Germany back into the old rut of class prosperity? It is obviously a compromise. The Communists hate the word "compromise" and prefer to call it a "change of tactics." Whatever you call it, they are changing their policy, both in home economics and foreign politics. For the sake of British trade, they have agreed to abandon revolutionary propaganda in British Asia, and to the great regret of Indian revolutionaries they are keeping their promise.[2] They have given up hope of immediate revolution in Western Europe and are negotiating with capitalist governments, bargaining and compromising to obtain the needed locomotives, agricultural machinery, and electrical material; they are devoting themselves primarily to the problem of economic reorganization at home, and care little what elements of the original program must be temporarily sacrificed.

Lenin declares sharply that the new policy is not an abandonment of communism because Russia has never been communist, since she has merely had a government of Communists who by various methods have sought to help Russia forward into communism, and who just now are shifting their methods without changing their ultimate goal. Yet Lenin himself does not attempt to conceal the fact that the new economic policy of Russia is a prodigious compromise of communist policy; he calls it establishing "a basis for a restoration of the small bourgeoisie and of capitalism" and adds "the fact is indubitable, and it would be ridiculous to close our eyes to it." He justifies it as the only solution of Russia's present economic difficulty. He even declares that Russia can reach communism only by passing through a stage of intensified capitalism.

I do not intend here to argue the whys and wherefores of the economic collapse, to rehearse the story of war and civil war that has made northern France look like a pinprick compared to Russia's devastated districts, or to allocate the black guilt of those wars between Germany, France, Poland, England, America, the Russian whites, and the international financiers. Some of the collapse is due to the colossal earthquake of revolution; only a fool could expect an economic revolution without a serious upset in production. The fact of economic ruin exists—a gaunt, terrible ruin. Russia is not the land of horrors so often pictured in the Western press, but it is a land of appalling sacrifice. A year ago, after the defeat of Denikin, peace seemed a reality, and the people turned to the business of industrial reconstruction with a national will that must, by all accounts, have been thrilling. But Entente intrigue continued; Wrangel and the Poles refused to permit Russia to rebuild. Economic reconstruction had to wait, and when the armies had won their victories the spring thrill was gone, and a tired, exhausted nation stared at the worst harvest since the famine year of 1891. The military campaign had drained the country; only the military factories were in efficient operation, and fuel, even in beforested Russia, was lacking. In February of this year Russia actually imported 300,000 tons of fuel. Petrograd was breadless and fuelless for weeks before the Kronstadt uprising. West European countries, nearly three years after the armistice, are only beginning to recuperate; Russia, after extra years of war, naturally lags behind them.

It was just before the Kronstadt uprising[3] that the new economic policy was announced. That uprising was not unexpected; the situation was such that an explosion somewhere was imminent. But the announcement came too late to affect in large measure this year's planting. It takes time for news to circulate in Russia despite the marvelous network of wireless stations achieved by the Soviet Government, and it takes still more time for news to be believed. The Ukraine is quieter since the new decrees, but Makhno's bandits still have some peasant support. There is no doubt that the reopening of the markets and shops and the oppor-

[2] On coming out of Russia I read in a Reval (Esthonia) paper that Trotzky is in Turkestan organizing a new Red Army to invade Afghanistan and India. A French paper that reached Moscow just before I left reported Trotzky very ill with cancer. As a matter of fact, Trotzky is and has been in Moscow, very busy at demobilization—and an invasion of Afghanistan is about the last thing the Bolsheviks are thinking of at this time.

[3] The statement made by Henry Alsberg in his article in *The Nation* for June 15 that 800 men were executed after the Kronstadt uprising is, I believe, grossly exaggerated, although I heard it probably from the same anarchist source as he. A Red Guard who went through the battle told me, cursing, that only 80 were shot; he wished more had been. From two different official sources the figure of 13 executed was given me.

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tunities for private profit have calmed certain essentially bourgeois elements in the cities that liked to use talk of liberty to screen lust for gain.

But the gods seem to be against Soviet Russia. In the past a new civil war has ruined each renascent hope; this year the new economic policy makes city talk, but it cannot touch the ghastly fact of famine, for this year Russia faces not a question of transport but a fact of actual shortage. Last year's crop was the worst since the famine year. This year the winter crop in whole provinces along the Volga is a total failure. The spring drought burned the soil and killed the hope of bread. In some places the grain has been mowed as hay; in others it was not worth mowing. Whole villages have packed their goods on carts and started to migrate, begging toward fertile Siberia. In the entire province of Tsaritsin and in the German colony on the Volga the harvest this year will be less than one-quarter normal; in Orenburg and Tambov less than half; in Samara, Saratov, Uralsk, Kursk, and a half dozen other provinces, normally Russia's richest granary, barely half of normal. Russia, if her people are not to starve, must appeal to America, Canada, Australia, for help[4] and it is the tragic truth that we have been so lied to and know so little of Russia that we will not respond. When there is famine in China or in Austria we blame it on God, the weather, or accident, and give to the starving; but when people starve in the parched fields of Russia our pulpits and press blame it on bolshevik incapacity, and few open their pocket-books. As I left Moscow, I heard that Maxim Gorki was planning an appeal to America; I wondered if he dreamed how hardened America's heart was to the children of those who dare to tolerate a communist government.

Drought and famine may upset all the calculations on which the new economic policy was based, and make further and more serious concessions necessary. As Lenin outlined it in his brochure on the Food Tax—a pamphlet more read and discussed in Russia than any best seller in America—it was one of the most magnificent gambles that ever statesman made. Where Western statesmen look months ahead, Lenin, Trotzky, and Bucharin look years ahead; where others play checkers, they play chess. They work out the complicated interplay of economic factors; they care not a rap for prestige and are ready to abandon any cherished policy if it prove a failure. Lenin figured out the situation somewhat thus: We shall hold on to the railroads, the larger factories, and the best mines. We shall lease to foreign capitalists, for a defined period of years and for as large a cash or goods return as we can get, some of our mines and factories. These they will develop as large-scale modern industry, and eventually return to us. This large-scale industry is a necessary preliminary step toward socialized industry, and it will constantly be teaching us technical lessons. Meanwhile, in order to get immediate production, we shall have to encourage small industry. That will develop in large numbers of people precisely those individualistic, profit-making tendencies which we are trying to root out. But in the long run small industry cannot compete with large-scale industry. The game therefore is to make large-scale industry effective before the *petit bourgeois* development becomes too strong for us. We must use large-scale capitalism to fight the more dangerous enemy, the petty merchant spirit. Open the markets, permit free trade; anything to get bread and products to exchange for bread now; but let the state, still firmly under communist control, devote itself to the development of state capitalism, which is the only road to true communism. And because we know what we want, because we act as a disciplined, united body, and do not fear to take lessons from our enemies while our enemies never learn from us, and because we shall have the coming generation with us, we shall win.

Whether the Bolsheviks can salvage their program or not, it is difficult in Russia to avoid the conclusion that they are the only doctors who can possibly cure the disease. This is a fact which the outside world does not yet realize, but it must realize it. The Communists seemed to me to be the only constructive, life-giving, creative force and the only strong and disciplined force in Russia today. The infamous acts of the White Guards, of the whole long line of Kolchaks, Denikins, Yudeniches, Wrangels, Petluras, ruined the cause of conservatism in Russia even with the peasants and small bourgeoisie. The only real opposition to the Bolsheviks inside Russia today is a Left opposition which, by whatever name it calls itself, is in tendency and fact anarchist, and which, if it succeeded in overtoppling the Bolsheviks, could for the present only plunge the country into chaos and worse hunger. It is an opposition which resents concessions to foreign capitalists, which rejects the bourgeois specialists who are reorganizing some of the factories, and would return to the system of direct collective management of the factories by their workers; it would have each city separately obtain its own food and its own fuel. It is a healthy democratic opposition—but at this juncture its success would spell ruin. The bourgeois specialists and technicians, on the other hand, admit the power of the Government they hate. A rabidly anti-bolshevist engineer said to me: "Lenin and Trotzky must stay. They are the only men capable of organizing Russia. They alone can inspire discipline. Indeed, the Communists are the only disciplined people in undisciplined Russia—that is their power. But for them Russia would have crumbled long ago. But Lenin and Trotzky and the Communists are not establishing communism, and as time goes on they will depart further and further from it." That point of view is not uncommon in Russia. Men in profound disaccord with their theories have been forced to intense admiration of the foresight of Lenin and of the administrative genius of Trotzky.

The game was a gamble anyway. Now comes the drought, which will be more and more burningly felt this autumn and this winter. The June rains may have saved some of the autumn crop that had seemed lost. On the growth of those green stalks more than on anything else really depends the answer to the question, Is Russia abandoning communism? In most of the answers glibly made today outside and inside Russia the wish, rather than adequate knowledge of the infinitely complicated facts, is father to the thought. In any case the record of four years of tremendous experiment in applied idealism is written so deep in the hearts of all Russians and particularly in the hearts and lives of the entire urban industrial population that whatever compromises may yet come, Russia can never revert either to her pre-war status or to the kind of capitalism still prevalent in Western Europe. Generalization is indeed dangerous but that is a generalization of which anyone who has once breathed the air of Soviet Russia must feel assured.

[4] This was written before Maxim Gorki's appeal to Herbert Hoover was made public.

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The Conference of the British Labor Party[1]

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD

London, July 1

THE influence of the miners' lockout upon the mind of labor was seen in everything that was done at Brighton. Here was a dispute which though primarily a mining concern was in reality a battle for labor in general. Had labor to accept lower than pre-war conditions? Was none of the industrial freedom granted to labor during the war to be retained? These were the real issues upon which miners laid down their tools and resorted once more to direct action. If ever common industrial action in the form of a strike could be successful, everything was in its favor in this case. And yet the Triple Alliance was a bulwark of dust, and beyond financial aid the rest of combined labor left the miners to fight a single-handed battle. After two months and a half of it every labor leader at Brighton saw that victory was impossible, saw that the wider demands for pools and national standards had to go, saw that even a satisfactory wages settlement was doubtful, saw that a truce without victory had to be made. The *Daily Herald* and the Communists might continue to indulge in valiant talk to mislead and delude the fine heroism of the men, but the debts of the Miners' Union and their families had mounted into millions, the markets kept immovably against the locked-out men, endurance was bringing no reward except what its own virtue gave, and bold men taking their reputation in their hands had to speak plainly and truthfully. Brighton turned to Parliamentary action, to the conversion of public opinion as the means of justice and progress, and it gave to the leaders who were distinctively political a welcome and appreciation which these conferences have recently withheld. That haunted every debate at Brighton like a *motif* phrase in music.

When the Conference dealt with the rival Socialist and Labor Internationals it passed by the Third without wasting a word or a thought upon it; the delegate who ought to have moved affiliation to it was not in his place and without a word the Conference passed on to other business. Nor was affiliation to the Vienna Union moved, and with practical unanimity a resolution was passed adhering to the Second with instructions that the party should do its best to get a conference between that and Vienna to end divisions that represent no distinctions in policy. The communist issue was raised in a resolution either of great artfulness or equally great innocence. The Communists, instructed by Moscow and in pursuance of a policy to rend in twain the socialist and labor movements in every country, had applied for affiliation, and the Labor Party executive had refused it on the ground that the tactics, the constitution, and the resolutions of the Communist Party were inconsistent with a loyal acceptance of the Labor Party position. This has been followed by attacks by the Communists to which no one has paid the slightest attention—except Mr. J. H. Thomas who has taken a libel action against the printers of the official communist organ. But a resolution was upon the agenda declaring that the Communists ought to be affiliated if they accepted the Labor Party's constitution. Verbally, this meant nothing, but had it been carried it would have been represented as a sympathetic gesture toward the Communist Party. The debate, though very one-sided, was one of the best of the Conference. The influence of Moscow declines daily in this country as Lenin modifies point after point of his program, as the devastating influence of Moscow tactics is seen in France and elsewhere on the Continent, and as bolshevist imperialism unveils itself in Georgia and elsewhere. Brighton was emphatic. The resolution was passed over by "the previous question," which was carried by 4,115,000 votes to 224,000.

But however clearly set upon parliamentary action the mind of Brighton may have been, it was not altogether happy with its own parliamentary achievements. Latterly, the party has been doing better in Parliament, but there is still a feeling as expressed by Mr. Garvin in the *Observer* of Sunday, the 26th June, that "instead of the old deadly engagements with intellectual rapiers, the Labor Opposition turns parliamentary controversy into a mere pillow-fight of politics." The decision of the Parliamentary Party not to offer an uncompromising opposition to the Reparations Bill caused disappointment almost amounting to consternation in the party outside, and resolutions on the Brighton agenda censured the members of Parliament for their weakness. Mr. Clynes, as the parliamentary leader, could do nothing but admit the fault. In the end though the censure only received 571,000 votes, a somewhat meager 1,959,000 were cast against it, 2,000,000 remaining neutral. The Parliamentary Party remains the big problem for labor in this country. A general election ought to add considerably to its numbers, but will it increase its parliamentary efficiency? Mr. Garvin again has something to say on this point—something that is put nastily and is exaggerated, but something which is not altogether imaginary. He says: "Labor is worm-eaten by petty jealousies and suspicions; obsessed by the desire of the average local light among trade unionists to quit manual toil; to thrust aside black-coated distinction whenever a seat is vacant, and to reach the parliamentary sphere for which he was never intended by his Creator." I repeat, injustice is here mingled with truth and the Labor Party knows it.

The perilous condition of the Liberal Party and the bigness of the task of turning out the Coalition have given rise to a discussion as to whether the Labor Party should unite with the Liberals for the purpose of forming a victorious *bloc* for elections. The Labor Party looks upon the proposal with hostile suspicion. The recent elections have done anything but show that a Liberal-Labor combination would be successful, for labor is winning seats by itself, and when it is opposed by Liberal as well as by Coalition candidates it has as good a chance of winning as when it faces the latter alone. A Liberal candidate secures many votes that would not be cast for labor and his poll weakens the Coalition enough to enable the solid labor vote to elect its candidate. Such an understanding would do more to rehabilitate Liberalism than defeat the Coalition, and it would give so much offense to the more active workers for the Labor Party that it would produce a weakening suspicion

[1] The Conference of the British Labor Party of which Mr. MacDonald writes took place at Brighton, England, from June 20 to 24.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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of labor leadership and intentions. Brighton pronounced emphatically upon this by deciding unanimously that "all *suggestions for any alliance between the Labor Party and* any section of the Liberal or Conservative Parties are to be repudiated." The Labor Party is determined to remain independent and will fight the election with its own machinery, its own list of candidates, and its own program.

These were the great indications of high labor policy shown at Brighton and they are good. So soon as the coal dispute is settled and our coal supply begins to be replenished, people will begin to pass judgment on the whole affair, and the part played by the Government in creating it and in mishandling it will be censured. If it be true, as a member of the Cabinet is reported to have said, that the Coalition is at last cracking, the after-thoughts of the mining trouble will be like battering rams upon its unworthy walls, and Brighton will have steadied public opinion and considerably strengthened confidence in the Labor Party.

As to the other resolutions, that on Ireland reiterated the position which the party has taken up for over a year—a free decision by the Irish people and a truce in the meantime. Within forty-eight hours we had the satisfaction of knowing that the Government, if its letter to Mr. De Valera and Captain Craig be sincere, is trying to follow on our footsteps. It hoped for success by another road, and the road has got harder, bloodier, longer, and gives no hope of ending except amidst ruins. Moreover, a point on that road has been reached when, unless it is to turn back, the Government must commit itself to horrors which it may well doubt if even a war-hardened public will sanction. So it apparently turns to our way, confesses its failure, and appeals for forgiveness for the old and for an attempt to start anew. On foreign affairs the Conference declared for publicity, for the parliamentary sanction of all treaties, agreements, and understandings, and declined to omit a sentence declaring that "any minister acting in opposition to this principle [parliamentary knowledge of national obligations] shall be deemed guilty of treason to the State." As a supplement to this it registered its opinion that the peace treaties had to be revised, that the policy of protection ought not be pursued, but that international trade should be restored as speedily as possible through free channels. It paused for a moment to register opinions regarding the military oppression of states like Georgia, the menace of an Anglo-French alliance, unemployment, nationalization of the mines, and put its foot down hard upon the prosecutions of Communists and the political activities of Scotland Yard and the Home Office which are doing their best to turn our state into a police state like Czarist Russia. Across the little tables in hotel lounges where the delegates gathered in the evenings no one topic was more frequently discussed than the possibility of a Labor Government following a general election. Who would lead the party? Who would fill this office and that? Would the party cooperate with radicals or other outsiders or form its government from within itself? Perhaps this was another case of counting unhatched chickens. For myself I should prefer that the next election gave us an efficient Opposition rather than plunged us into government responsibilities, the heirs of the chaos and the empty exchequer which are all that this Coalition Government will hand over to its successors. But be that as it may, Brighton showed that the Labor Party has a comprehensive policy, that it is no mere class party, and that it could quite easily form a government.

Methodism's Blue Laws

By J. HENRY SMYTHE, JR.

ON the statute books of the Methodist Episcopal Church since 1872 has been a prohibition to members, under penalty of expulsion, of dancing, theater- or circus-going, card-playing, and so forth. Owing to the protests of dancing teachers' societies and of theatrical organizations which deny that dancing and theater-going are "obviously of misleading or questionable moral tendency," these amusement blue laws have recently been much in the national limelight. Many leading Methodist annual conferences last year urged repeal of these legislative blunders, including the New York, New York East, New Jersey, Newark, New England, New England Southern, the Central Pennsylvania, and the Chicago Preachers' Meeting. These public memorials also brought the subject into the newspapers.

A natural corollary to these recreation rules is that those in the amusement profession are not welcome in the Methodist Church. Public opinion may merely sympathize with the Methodist law-makers over the problems of the long-regretted amusement ban. There is, however, only resentment toward Bishop Joseph H. Berry's attitude concerning people on the stage. As senior bishop and as spokesman for the Board of Bishops on November 28 last, he was quoted as "making it plain that neither actors nor persons who went to theaters were wanted in the Methodist Episcopal Church." As Mr. Frank Gillmore, executive secretary of the Actors' Equity Association, has well pointed out, this tells over 80 per cent of the inhabitants of the United States that they are not wanted in the Methodist Church!

The *Christian Advocate*, the leading Methodist paper, on April 29, 1920, admitted:

> Forty-eight years ago a General Conference wrote into the Discipline a paragraph specifying certain forms of amusements, indulgence in which should render the guilty member liable to expulsion. This law, generally speaking, has never been enforced, but still remains on the statute book (¶ 280), an embarrassment to pastors and a hindrance to many conscientious members. It is plain that the law should be repealed or enforced, and enforcement became impossible when the moving-picture theater came into being. Since then every Methodist has been *a law-breaker.*

Bishop E. J. Richardson, of Atlanta, Georgia, was also quoted last fall by an Atlantic City paper as saying:

> The Methodist Church's attitude against dancing is well known and persons who wish to dance should not try to force themselves into the church but should join another. Our church does not believe that a dancer will be unable to enter the Kingdom of God, but it is opposed to dancing and will so continue.

Dr. James R. Day, chancellor of Syracuse University, told the 1912 General Conference at Minneapolis:

> Have we an amusement rule that is respected by our people? But worse than that, it is not simply a resistance of the rule that is embarrassing us, but the new order of things introduced a contention into the Methodist Episcopal Church and is responsible for the constantly increasing strife throughout our entire union. And the difference of opinion is between men of apparently equal spirituality and devotion. It is a division of good, earnest, and honest congregations.

But not on the amusement issue alone is the great Methodist Church way behind the times. There are other than amusement blue laws which might well be revised.

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Most churches prefer not to air their controversies in the public press. This is especially true of the Methodist denomination. At the General Conference held last year in Des Moines, voting on the repeal of the amusement ban, in order to avoid notoriety, was without any debate outside of private committees.

A progressive step was previously taken by the Conference when the required assent to the Articles of Religion for a person joining the church was declared unconstitutional. Forty-eight hours later this action was reconsidered. Only by rewriting the entire Book of Discipline and adopting it in toto at the annual and general conferences can its language be made to represent twentieth-century thought. Patchwork legislation is almost impossible and would make interminable discussion.

Methodist and other churches are considering Sunday blue laws. It would be better first to get rid of some of the old legislative deadwood now impeding church progress. Some Methodist blue laws taken from the Constitution of the Church in the 1920 Book of Discipline follow. Paragraph 30 of the General Rules says in part:

Avoid evil such as—

Slaveholding; buying or selling slaves.

The using of many words in buying or selling.

Doing what we know is not for the glory of God as: The putting on of gold and costly apparel.

Laying up treasure on earth.

Paragraph 32 says:

Evidence a desire for salvation by "fasting or abstinence."

Paragraph 33 says:

If there be any among us who observes them not we will admonish him of the error of his ways. We will bear with him for a season. But if then he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls.

In the section of Special Advices, Paragraph 66 on Dress says:

Let all our people be exhorted to conform to the spirit of the apostolic precept, not to adorn themselves "with gold, or pearls, or costly array."

Under this section a parishioner once reproved a Methodist pastor for wearing a Phi Beta Kappa key!

One reference to amusement in Paragraph 69 says:

We look with deep concern on the great increase of amusements and on the general prevalence of harmful amusements, and lift up a solemn note of warning against theater-going, dancing, and such games of chance as are frequently associated with gambling.

This section, when adopted, was intended as a substitute for the famous amusement ban in Chapter VI headed Trial of a Church Member, which has been, however, quadrennially retained.

The Temperance paragraph, section 2, says:

We urge our members to abstain from the use of cigarettes and of tobacco in all other forms.

Why more young people are not anxious to study for the ministry is, perhaps, partially explained by these Methodist Rules for a Preacher's Conduct:

Never be unemployed.

Avoid all lightness, jesting, and foolish talking.

Converse sparingly and conduct yourself prudently with women.

And remember! a Methodist preacher is to mind every point, great and small in the Methodist Discipline! Therefore you will need to exercise all the sense and grace you have.

Do you use as much abstinence and fasting every week as your health, strength, and labor will permit?

Do you deny yourself every useless pleasure of sense? imagination? honor? Are you temperate in all things? For instance, do you eat no more at each meal than is necessary?

As a general method of employing our time we advise you (1) as often as possible to rise at four. From four to five in the morning and from five to six in the evening to meditate, pray, and read the Scriptures with notes, etc.

Look around and see how many people are still in apparent danger of damnation. And how can you walk and talk, and be merry with such people, when you know their case?

All Methodist ministers and local preachers must also promise "wholly to abstain from the use of tobacco." This rule especially is resented by many Methodist pastors as an infringement of personal liberty and conscience.

In Chapter VI, Trial of a Church Member, the paragraph on Immoral Conduct has long said:

A member of the church who persists in using, buying, or selling intoxicating liquors as a beverage shall be brought to trial and if found guilty shall be expelled.

Under Section II, entitled Imprudent Conduct, Paragraph 280 says:

In case of neglect of duties of any kind; imprudent conduct; indulging sinful tempers or words; dancing; playing at games of chance; attending theaters, horse races, circuses, dancing parties or patronizing dancing schools, or taking such other amusements as are obviously of misleading or questionable moral tendency; or disobedience to the Order and Discipline of the church, on first offense let private reproof be given by the pastor or class leader, and if there be an acknowledgment of the fault and proper humiliation, the person may be borne with. On the second offense the pastor or class leader may take with him one or two discreet members of the church. On the third offense let him be brought to trial, and if found guilty and there be no sign of real humiliation he shall be expelled.

This amusement attitude may explain in part why Methodism is not stronger in New York City. One person in every twelve throughout the United States is a Methodist. In New York the proportion is only one in a hundred.

Section IV, Causing Dissension, is a gag rule which forbids honest criticism, such as this, of any Methodist policies. It reads as follows:

If a member of the church shall be accused of endeavoring to sow dissension in the church by inveighing against its Doctrines or Discipline, its ministers or members, or in any other manner, the person so offending shall first be reproved by the preacher in charge; and if he persist in such pernicious practice, he shall be brought to trial, and, if found guilty, shall be expelled.

This article is printed as constructive advice to Methodism. Church leaders do not sufficiently sense public opinion. Making creeds and church-going more attractive will fill the churches faster than would any Sunday blue laws crammed down people's throats. The churches must meet Sabbath competition, not by stifling such diversions, but by making religious dogmas and services more appealing.

The Episcopal Address of the Board of Bishops to the last General Conference well said:

The badge of youth admits young people at every door. They will crowd in where you consider the social life you propose to offer. They will blister you with scorn if your action is only negative, if you pride yourselves only on what you forbid. They can go into near-by villages and buy themselves the victuals of social life. You can send them away, or can give them to eat. You can lay your emphasis upon what you forbid and the youth of the world will pass the church by.

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Adventures in Foreign Accent

By EUGENE WOOD

LIKE enough, if we had trustworthy statistics of the days when they were persecuting in the interest of the One True Faith, we should find that more proselytes were made and kept by gentle, steady harrying than by the more red-blooded, hammer-and-tongs (especially tongs) method of the auto-da-fé. For the sight of the heretic jumping up and down in the fire—few could have had the anaesthesia of Archbishop Cranmer, who is said to have held his right hand in the blaze till it charred to a stump—and the sound of the heretic's yells of agony must have been, as the phrase goes, "too horrible to think about." Whereas the unending disadvantages of heresy, the withdrawal of trade, the continual nagging, the exclusion of the eldest son from Columbia, in a manner of speaking—these were just horrible enough to think of all the time, and must have inured much to the benefit of the One True Faith, whatever that happened to be.

Similarly, nowadays, when they are persecuting in the interest of the One True Nationality, it seems likely that there will be more 100 per cent Americans made and kept so by the gentle but steady economic and social pressure of those who carelessly allowed themselves to be born on other than these free and happy shores than by the robuster method of making them kneel down in the middle of Main Street and kiss the Flag. Indeed, there is reason to suspect that more aversion than affection is inspired by that act of faith. When the heretic is held firmly by the back of the neck and his head bobbed over forcibly by a hot and husky patriot, it must be difficult to distinguish between kissing the Flag and having one's nose rubbed in the same.

Many of those securely of the One True Nationality are displeased with persecution, whether it be rigorous or mild. Such find some solace in the thought that you do not always get out of such things exactly what you put into them. The Czars when they bedeviled all in Holy Russia that spoke other than Russian scarcely expected that by so doing they were making the revolution more easily possible. Neither do those who in this land of liberty are so keen to make all "talk American" realize that if and when they succeed they lose the divisive diversities of speech which have hitherto made it so nearly impossible to get working people to act unitedly. If we cannot tell by the agitator's accent that he is foreign-born, how can the 100 per cent American make the crushing refutation of economic heresy: "If youse t'on't like t'e way wese runs t'ings in t'is country why t'on't youse go back to where youse come from?"

In order to slide from under this steady pressure there is much interest on the part of the foreign-born in acquiring English, not only in its structural but in its orthophonetic form. There are those whose speech is grammatical, fluent, and even idiomatic yet who are heard with a faintly derisive smile because their pronunciation of the simplest words—especially of the simplest words—is so outlandish. It takes a prodigious amount of mental ability to overbear this obstacle of foreign accent. To begin with, it is a caste-mark; can any good thing come out of the steerage? He that speaks only his native tongue can hardly believe that anyone that "can't talk plain yet" has other than an infantile mind.

It is my good fortune to have had adventures in correcting foreign accent in classes at the Rand School. I have found it a true saying and worthy of all men to be received that there's nothing that teaches like teaching. I have learned as much from my pupils as I hope they have learned from me. One starts out with the notion that to get the foreigner to pronounce the same as the native—better, if possible—all that is necessary to do is to make the various sounds of the language neatly and distinctly. Whereupon the foreigner imitates. And there you are. As easily as that. What hinders this notion from fruiting into fact is that if there were such mimics they wouldn't register for such a class. They wouldn't need to. That there are such I know, for I have met them, but they do not exist in any rank profusion.

The difficulty of learning English phonetics by mimicking either singly or in class is that the foreign-born doesn't hear the difference between the sounds, let us say, represented in English by *t* and *d*, and the sounds in his native tongue represented by the same letters. It gives him a shock, not always pleasant, to find that he doesn't pronounce them as Americans do. Indeed, he does not often hear the difference till he sees the difference. For his tongue-tip is visible in a mirror when he puts it against his upper incisors and sort of spits a hair off it as he softly explodes his *t's* and *d's*, whereas the American tucks his tongue-tip out of sight up against the gums of his incisors—against his palate, indeed, when he pronounces the diphthongs of *tr* and *dr*, as in "try" and "dry"—and explodes the sound quite forcibly. Russian, Polish, Scandinavian, Spanish, and Italian *t* will do passably well for the *t th* that occurs in such locutions as "about that" and "at the time," but otherwise it is neither *t* nor *th*, but something betwixt and between.

Mimicking won't do; even telling won't do. I have to go all round the class and have each student put his forefinger into his mouth up to the base of its nail, bring the nail against the backs of his upper incisors, lay the under side of the tongue against the finger-tip, and then explode the *t* or *d* so strongly that the other forefinger pressed into the flesh at the base of the throat can feel the sternohyoid muscle jump as much for those letters as it does for a cough.

All sounds of English different from what the student has been accustomed to make must have similar tests, so that he may know for himself when he is practicing at home whether he is making them correctly or not. No dependence at all can be placed on his untested efforts.

(The sounds of *t* and *d* have a peculiar and personal interest to me. When the Luskers were raiding the Rand School to prove a plot to blow up the Government they carried off this very lesson on *t* and *d* as incriminating evidence. These sounds are classed as "explosives," and I was teaching aliens how to make them. Also *t* and *d* suggest TNT, especially to a Lusky mind.)

I have had to get up recipes, so to speak, for the production of each unwonted sound of English, containing all the "ingrediences," as Aunt Betty Lippincott used to say, each action of the tongue or lips, accurately described, and capable of being measured by the pupil in his home work. For most sounds the pupil's finger will do very well as a test and measure, but his pencil comes handiest for *f* and *v*, *wh* and *w*, which they all want to make with their upper lip modestly hiding their upper front teeth. To touch the lower lip with the upper front teeth, as recommended in the books for *v*, is not enough. The upper lip must be lifted until the student can tap his upper incisors with his pencil. Also for *w* his lips, instead of making a straight gash across his

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face, must be puckered to a round hole the diameter of the pencil, which again must tap the teeth.

By the way, there is rather an interesting thing about *wh*. Should you say that in English there was the guttural blowing as in the Scotch "loch," the German "ach," the Spanish "jota," or the Russian "xata"? It seems so foreign and un-American. In the old days when they used to teach German in schools there were always patriots who said "nock nickt." Yet if one were merely to blow *wh* through the puckered mouth it would be inaudible. There has to be this rustling of breath on the tonsils for *wh*.

It is often said that those whose native tongue is other than English can never acquire our liquid *r*. I am happy to state that they can, though the real "gargled *r*" doesn't disappear by attempting to imitate our vowel-like *r*. Anybody can conquer it, though, who will dismiss from his mind all thought of making what he thinks is *r*, and simply try to make a vocal sound with his back tongue, his tongue-tip and the corners of his mouth held according to recipe. It is interesting to note the reaction which follows. Some get up and waltz around in sheer joy at having succeeded at last after so many years of failure. Others burst into uncontrollable laughter. "It sounds so affecketed," they say.

A pupil came to me after class one night. "Listen," she said, her eyes snapping with the pride of victory. "Sheep ship, pan—I mean pen—pan, call coal, cot caught cut." These are shibboleths which these modern Ephraimites cannot frame to pronounce right until they learn that there is a regular vowel-scale on the top of the tongue: Eel, ill, ell, at, ask, arm, all, oar, hook, ooze, up—eleven simple vowels, unless *r* is the twelfth. It may be that *o* as in "not" differs from *a* as in "arm." If so, my ear is too dull to hear the difference. Some foreign-born, notably Scandinavians, have to be taught that long *a* is a diphthong, but all have to be taught that long *o* has a finish of *oo*, except when followed by *r*. They can say "more" and "four" all right, but they have to learn to say "go-oo" and "so-oo."

Then they have to learn that in the unaccented syllables and in the words that are the connective tissue of the language, articles, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, and prepositions, all vowels change to a sort of vocal grunt, just enough noise to carry the consonants. Owing to the foreign-born's propensity for vowels and his lax *t*, it is hard to tell whether he means "can" or "can't." There's almost a whole lesson in saying "You kn go." It means a lot to know how to be decently sloven with a language, to be able to take your collar off in English without being vulgar.

I don't know how the foreign-born taken in the mass may be, but in the Rand School I have had Russians, Ukrainians, Finns, Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Rumanians, Greeks, Japanese, and even Maltese —no French—and they are eager to learn and beautifully persevering, like what I seem to remember Americans were in the days before ever they all took to living in Main Street, when they had souls if no automobiles. I don't know but I like them fully as well as I do those of my own stock who consider that taking the trouble to be born into the One True Nationality is enough mental effort for one lifetime; who have a high contempt for the "ignorant foreigners" that, like the man who was so naturally dirty he had to be washing himself all the time, are forever going to the public library where, as a recent borough president so aptly put it, "they read themselves to death and then come out and want to overthrow the Government."

The Situation in Italy[1]

By GIOVANNI GIGLIO

Rome, July 9

THE peace between Socialists and Fascisti, about which so much has been said during the past few days, will not be made after all. The failure is not due to men this time, but to events, the reality of which is stronger than the desires of men. The idea of peace, or better of a truce in the civil guerrilla warfare, which had risen in the minds of a few men of good-will, initiators and negotiators, has been wrecked against the hard reality of the present hour, against the deep and impassable trenches of the class struggle which at this moment is furiously raging in Italy. The peace idea was born in parliamentary circles, in surroundings where life is a continuous game of agreements and compromises, a fictitious and insincere life, which through the constitutional need of getting away from reality nearly always finishes with ignoring it or entirely misunderstanding it. Thus it happened that while the delegates of the hostile parties were sitting around the same table in a quiet room in Parliament for the purpose of negotiating peace, their followers on the outside continued to pursue and kill one another with implacable ferocity.

At the very moment when these negotiations were taking place the civil guerrilla warfare flared up afresh in the violent and bloody episodes of the siege of Grosseto and the battle at Sestri Ponente. The siege and the conquest of Grosseto, a medieval town on the Tuscan Maremma, cost the lives of fifteen Communists. The siege lasted for three days and was conducted by an army of 2,000 Fascisti in full battle array. The military and the police authorities garrisoning the town put themselves at the service of the Fascisti and fought side by side with them against the workers who were defending their houses in the besieged town. When the workers' resistance came to an end the Fascisti and the police rushed with bestial fury into the workers' quarters, sacking and burning everything. The six hours' battle before the chamber of work at Sestri Ponente was not less savage. The workers, besieged in the building, were nearly all syndicalists, and they fought and defended themselves like lions against an armed force equipped with armored motor cars and machine-guns. The battle lasted all night. Many men fell on both sides. When toward dawn the Fascisti and the police rushed the chamber of work, now dismantled and in ruins, they found only thirty wounded men there, the others having succeeded in getting away under cover of the night.

All this and even more was taking place while within the walls of Parliament the delegates of the Socialists and the Fascisti were sitting around a table negotiating peace. But the most important fact which arose to dissipate the illusions of the ingenuous negotiators was the meeting of the proletariat at Rome last Sunday when more than 60,000 workers belonging to various organizations which on account of the war had become estranged, solemnly resolved to reunite and form a *blocco*, that is, to drop old and present disagreements and oppose a single front of the workers

[1] Since this article was written numerous conflicts between workmen and Fascisti have occurred in Italy, the most serious being that at Sarzana, Province of Genoa, in which from twenty-five to twenty-seven persons were killed. The situation is reported as so grave that unless the Government can quell the disturbances civil war may ensue.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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to the single front of the Fascisti. This really important fact has been received by the ruling class and by the capitalist press with a cry of mingled contempt and alarm. The leader of the Fascisti, Benito Mussolini, denounced it in yesterday's issue of *Il Popolo d'Italia* as a betrayal by the Socialists of the peace which was being negotiated. And the *Idea Nazionale*, the Nationalist organ, wrote:

> The struggle against the subversives is still in its initial stage and therefore we cannot disarm, because the proletariat meeting of yesterday shows us that the revolutionary beast is not tamed, but on the contrary is getting ready to pass to the counter-attack and to revenge itself for the heavy blows it has received.

In reality the soul of 60,000 workers which vibrated so intensely at yesterday's meeting was not the soul of a people disposed to ask for peace, but seemed rather the soul of an army eager to be led to the attack. I saw the Arditi del Popolo at the meeting drawn up into companies under real officers who had fought against the Austrians. I saw them in serried ranks around the meeting mounting guard over it in readiness to defend their fellow-workers against any possible attack on the part of the Fascisti or of provocation on the part of the police. The constitution of this corps of the Arditi del Popolo, with daily increasing accessions to its ranks (275 ex-combatants joined yesterday), is beginning to alarm the reactionary press. Already some of the journals have begun to ask for the disbanding of this corps of armed subversives. But as the Government wishes to save at least the appearance of its neutrality it will be difficult to induce it to disband the corps as long as it tolerates the existence of the armed Fascisti. The majority of the men in the Arditi del Popolo come from the Nazionale Associazione degli Arditi, of which Gabriel d'Annunzio is the leader. In fact, he whom the Italian middle class long looked upon as a Nationalist with reactionary tendencies, has always disapproved, both in public and in private, the Fascisti movement and its deeds. So much so indeed, that in a communication in the journals a fortnight ago he ordered the Arditi and the legionaries to leave the Fascisti clubs and associations and maintain their discipline in expectation of his orders. The constitution of the Roman corps of the Arditi del Popolo has been received with manifestations of sympathy from the Arditi of other towns of Italy, and it is notable that no disavowal has yet been launched against its formation either by the Associazione Nazionale degli Arditi or by D'Annunzio.

The idea of peace between Socialists and Fascisti, as I have said, was born in parliamentary circles and was the outcome of the speech in Parliament of the Socialist of the Right, Filippo Turati, delivered a few days before the fall of the Giolitti Cabinet. Turati is an out and out pacifist, a neutralist in all wars, and as he was a neutralist during the World's War so he has been and is a neutralist in the present civil guerrilla war. His latest speech in the Chamber of Deputies was really a pacifist one, adorned with many sentimental invitations to social peace and to political collaboration. The Fascisti leader, Mussolini, listening to him attentively from his bench on the extreme Right, found in that speech an excellent opportunity to secure for his party an advantageous peace at a cheap price. The Fascisti have everything to gain and nothing to lose from a peace concluded at this moment. To their credit they have the destruction of 300 chambers of work, 100 cooperative societies, ten newspaper offices, the killing of 500 of their enemies, and the imprisonment of more than 3,000 others. All this has given them the reputation of a strong party, a reputation not entirely deserved, however, because without the passive and oftentimes the active support of the state forces they could not have carried out a third part of their work of destruction. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Fascisti than a peace concluded now, which might obtain for them the reputation of being generous men and, what counts more, might protect them against a return offensive which already is beginning to show itself among the exasperated workers thirsting for revenge. But the idea of peace did not long survive the fiery blast of civil war blowing in the country. The negotiations are interrupted today. If they were continued there would arise the certain danger for the negotiators of being thrown overboard and declared traitors by the rank and file of the two parties.

At this moment we are in a period of expectancy. In fact, everyone is waiting to see how the new Bonomi Cabinet will get on in face of the two parties in conflict. The Socialists know that, although Bonomi came out of the ranks of their party, he was the inspirer and organizer of Fascism during the period when he held the Portfolio of War in Giolitti's Cabinet. Already the Communists foresee that he will become the Italian Noske in the next reopening of the civil war. The Socialists also distrust him and have decided to oppose him. All depends upon the attitude he will assume in the government of the country. If he should favor the Fascisti, strife will break out anew —a struggle more bloody than the one now going on. If instead, Bonomi, falsifying predictions, carries out a policy of neutrality, we may perhaps secure a little of the peace desired by the country. But this peace could be accepted by the workers only on one condition: that the state punish all the crimes committed against them and fully compensate them for the material damages they have suffered in consequence of the complicity of the police in the reactionary offensive, in which the Fascisti have been and are the vanguard and the color bearers.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter does not forget that he once was a boy; indeed, it is tragic to remember that he has ever been anything less interesting or worth while—albeit he has. Yet somehow the youthful demand for the return of the five-cent or even the ten-cent soda leaves him unmoved. Of course the march of the boys of the Bronx the other day to the office of the president of the borough was a magnificent gesture, and the Drifter is always in favor of magnificent gestures, whatever they are about. Besides he is opposed to profiteers; but that is as far as he goes with the boys of the Bronx. To be frank, the Drifter could see sodas soar to twenty-five or even fifty cents without undue emotion. You have probably guessed by this time that he doesn't care much for them.

* * * * *

BUT it is not mere indifference toward other people's misfortunes that leaves the Drifter unenthused in regard to cheaper sodas. He is of the impression that we drink too many of them as it is—even the boys. At least all but the poorest boys do, and they make up in atrocious quality what they miss in quantity. But the boys can stand it better than the rest of us. We moderns, espe-

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cially in America, are becoming a nation of sweet tooths; it is making us fat, and soft, and pudgy. The Drifter has no figures at hand in regard to the increase in the use of sugar in recent years, but he knows it is vast—and to him, appalling. He knows, too, that he finds the pastries, cakes, and confections in our public eating places too sweet for his taste. He does not believe his taste has changed; he opines that more sweet is going into such food nowadays than once. And most appalling of all, the Drifter sees many of his fellow mortals (good husbands, and wives, and fathers, no doubt) sitting down before these over-sweetened dishes—and heaping them with more sugar.

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"CHACUN à son goût," the French say—everyone to his taste. Which is all right, except that we too often assume that in the matter of food one taste is as good as another—that there are no standards which can or ought to be set up and fought for. Quite wrong. Good taste in food is as important as in pictures or books—indeed, far more so—a fact that that most artistic of all peoples, the French, are quick to concede and grasp. When one considers that a man is largely what he eats and drinks the importance of being guided by good taste in the selection of one's food and drink becomes plain, and luxurious living begins to look vulgar and lose its attraction. Has nature not set up for us certain standards for eaters as well as for painters and novelists? When we go into the garden and pluck and eat the berries and other fruits that grow there, we do not ask for, or miss, additional sugar. Why should our taste change the minute we take these fruits in the house and put them on the table?

* * * * *

NO, the Drifter does not believe that the need of the day is for cheaper sodas—such as they are. Rather would he see an appreciation on the part of proprietors of fountains that a new public awaits, if they will but recognize it. Prohibition is the most important source of this new public. The closing of saloons has left in the community a great unslaked thirst—a potential clientele for the first owner of a soda-water fountain who has the acuteness to recognize and cater to the new demand. Hundreds of men are ready to patronize the druggists' and confectioners' fountains, but they cannot face the weird concoctions and the over-sweetened syrups that are now served. There is a great chance for American fountain owners to take a leaf out of the book of the Continental cafe. Half of the trade of such places is in soft drinks—coffee, milk, chocolate, lemonade, and the like. Who will be the first fountain owner in America to serve cold coffee in summer—bona-fide coffee, not a saccharine syrup? And who will originate the custom of serving hot chocolate in winter without sugar, allowing patrons to put it in as they please, instead of compelling all to drink a standardized liquid drenched with sweetening? In an uncommercial spirit the Drifter throws these hints out to the commercially minded.

* * * * *

AS for the boys—of the Bronx or elsewhere—the Drifter does not know that they are eating too many sweets, but he is confident that they are eating too many that are synthetically and artificially produced. For the boys of this day he craves a return of the old-fashioned molasses jug and the crock of apple butter on the pantry shelf.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Disintegration of the Pulpit

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: With 5,000 Protestant pulpits now vacant and the prospect of double that number empty a year hence, we have entered a veritable theological crisis. What we are witnessing is an American students' strike against the church. It is the more portentous because so wholly spontaneous. Why have these students struck? The common explanations, that there is better pay elsewhere, that the preacher's social standing has sagged, that he is muzzled, do not explain.

They have struck because the theological training of students is out of date. Good colleges and universities introduce young men to modern ideas and the modern world: theological institutions then invite them to take on the harness of antiquity, which they cannot do without self-stultification. They also see the present unhappy plight of the pulpit, where well-meaning men are floundering ineffectually, unable to grapple with the problems of a revolutionized modern world, because they were equipped with antiquity as their tool for improving the present.

It is a great mistake to see tragedy or pathos in this desertion of the pulpit, for rather is the event a splendid outburst of spiritual honesty, indicating the only way of modernizing the church. With only a thin stream of applicants for the pulpit, the churches must either close, or accept inferior men who will empty the pews, or transform themselves into organs of modern life in which trained minds can fully and freely express themselves without obtaining permission of dogmas and theologies.

Were preachers' salaries doubled or quadrupled the real problem would remain unsolved. The increase would tend to hasten the disintegration of the pulpit by enticing into it men who care less for principles than for pay. All educated youths who are worth while are now going to speak only what they believe with all their hearts, and they do not believe the present doctrines of the churches. In a quiet way a reformation much greater than Luther's has begun.

Boston, Mass., July 21 MORRISON I. SWIFT

The American Legion and Free Speech

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: *The Nation* has rendered a public service in bringing to the fore through the recent articles on the American Legion by Mr. Warner the important question, among others, of where the rank and file of the Legion really stands vis-à-vis the constitutional declaration of the Legion for law and order and a 100 per cent Americanism. Numerous reported instances of violation and intimidation on the part of Legion members and Legion posts throughout the country, collected in *The Nation* articles and in the recent report of the American Civil Liberties Union, squarely charge the Legion membership with a marked *penchant* for mob rule. Actual proof or disproof of specific charges is doubtless difficult.

It would seem not unreasonable nor un-American in the best sense for the Legion at this time to reaffirm publicly its constitutional declaration for law and order and to disavow the gravamen of the collective charge of a spirit of lawlessness. An earnest effort has been made within the ranks of the American Legion in New York County during the past six months publicly to commit the Legion to such a stand at this moment. As one who has taken active part in these efforts, which originated with the post of which I happen to be an officer, I know that no stone has been left unturned during the course of this inner struggle. Finally after much consideration of the question the subjoined resolution was decisively rejected on July 25 at a full meeting of the delegates from the various posts here, constituting the local County Committee, probably the largest single aggregation of Legion posts and Legion members in the country. The defeat

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of this resolution, couched in the most conservative terms, fairly raises the question: Does the Legion really believe it is intrusted with the patriotic (?) function of policing the political morals of the nation by the exercise of extra-legal demonstrations of force and intimidation? I am loath to admit that such can be the truth and yet I have heard such a claim stoutly asserted and defended by Legion members so many times in the past few months that I search, almost if not quite in vain, for any other explanation for the defeat of this resolution.

New York, July 29 ERNEST ANGELL

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, The American Legion has lately been publicly attacked upon the charge of having shown an alleged spirit of lawlessness on the part of some of its members and posts and upon the further charge of having failed to take any steps to curtail such alleged lawless action,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the American Legion of New York County indignantly repudiates this charge of lawlessness, and standing adamant for law and order and for justice under the law, and believing that men are free to think as they will, to speak as they will, to write as they will provided thereby they do not trespass on the like privileges or do injury to others, wishes to record itself as condemning any activities in the direction of suppressing that rich inheritance from our fathers, the most cherished of all rights guaranteed by the Constitution—the lawful exercise of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of public meetings.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the State Executive Committee, to our National Commander and National Executive Committee, and to the Press.

IRWIN IRA RACKOFF, *Chairman*
THOMAS F. BRADY
DR. HENRY W. HAYNES
[Sub-Committee, Executive Committee, New York County American Legion.]

In Memoriam: Dr. Morris Jastrow

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the death of Dr. Jastrow we have lost the one man who, since Henry C. Lea's life ended, gave Philadelphia a standing in the learned world of Europe. Quite unacclaimed, the sole great historian America has produced lived among us and passed from us. Precisely so moved yesterday in our midst the distinguished scholar we now mourn. And just because he was so genially accessible a figure, Philadelphia never, one ventures to think, quite realized the unique reputation he had won from that jury whose suffrage, as Matthew Arnold insisted, is never to be secured by bribery or intimidation.

He is dead, oh, far too soon for that enrichment of our knowledge we had full warrant to expect! Almost all of the greatest work of Dr. Lea was given to the world after he had passed the age of sixty. Years on years of unremitting labor must be devoted to the field in which Dr. Jastrow worked before such tools of vast linguistic attainment and all but universal historical knowledge as his can be secured. Then in the last twenty or thirty years of life come the ripeness and the vision that make great work possible.

Severe as was his learning, he made it warm with his humanity. None ever spoke to him without surprised wonder at the simplicity yet wealth of his mind, its real kindliness, its real wisdom. He exemplified the converse truth of that famous saying: "Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner." Dr. Jastrow, by sympathizing with all, understood all.

At this hour of bitter grief it is, however, the loss of the *friend* which weighs so heavily upon the heart. Emerson told us that the two elements of friendship are sincerity and tenderness. In Dr. Jastrow one learned the truth of Emerson's insight: a sincerity that never blinked nor sought the easy path, a tenderness that shamed one of unworthy reticences and withdrawals, and made courage and endeavor and character the highest aspirations of life.

Philadelphia, July 27 C. H. B.

Books

Unpopular Legends

Legends. By Amy Lowell. Houghton Mifflin Company.

SO far as popularity is concerned, Amy Lowell's chief enemy is her ambition, her greatest handicap her energy. If energy and ambition in themselves could effect anything, here is a volume which would become at once and forever the possession of all the peoples on earth who read, hear, or think narrative. For its author has gone simply everywhere for stuff: to treatises on Chinese porcelain, to "Purchas His Pilgrimage," to the Bulletins of the Bureau of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, to Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," to English local histories, to the population of New England, and sometimes to no other source than "an atavistic memory, I suppose." And she has made over this stuff with perhaps a greater supply than usual of the intelligence and industry for which she is justly noted. Yet the stuff remains uniquely hers; the world will never appropriate it.

It is fair to Miss Lowell to admit that she intended nothing else. The stories were already perennial; "this is my version, as the next man will have his and so on forever." But it is interesting, this difference between one who creates legends and one who makes them over. Miss Lowell says it is the mark of a true legend that "it can be made over in any image, but always remains itself." Well, where did the true legend come from once? From the popular mind? That is saying too much, or else too little, and meaning nothing. True legends probably started somewhere, in human brains, with definite shape and form; when they have changed their shape and form they have become new legends—provided they have kept the truth. The story of a man who goes to sleep and sleeps many years is older than Irving, but "Rip Van Winkle" is surely a true legend rather than an image of one. Millions of people know its details better than they do its author.

William Austin's "Peter Rugg the Missing Man" has been a true legend in New England ever since it was published there in 1824; Miss Lowell herself knew it before she knew its author—conclusive proof. Now here was a legend which she was at liberty not merely to tell again but to create again; it might have been that students a hundred years hence would trace the popular notion of Peter Rugg back to Amy Lowell instead of to William Austin. The truth seems rather to be that writers of monographs on Amy Lowell will remark that among other things she published in 1921 a version of William Austin's famous legend of the Missing Man. Energy and ambition have impressed her poetic personality upon the poem called Before the Storm and made it admirable, certainly, but not popular. The creator of a legend has no manner that the average reader can see; he is modest, he is behind his material, he is patiently ratiocinative—he is at pains to make connections plain and causes clear. Amy Lowell's manner is of course neither modest nor logical. It is imperious, impressionistic, ultra-violent. What would the popular mind make of this, for instance?

"The sky is lowering and black, a strange blue-blackness, which makes red houses pink, and green leaves purple. Over the blowing purple trees, the sky is an iron-blue, split with forks of straw-yellow. The thunder breaks out of the sky with a crash, and rumbles away in a long, hoarse drag of sound. The river is the blue of Concord grapes, with steel points and oblongs, down the bridge; up stream, it is pale and even, a solid line of unpolished zinc."

Or this?

"Guinea-gold lightning glitters through the indigo-blue cloud, a loud muffled booming of thunder, then the rain, pin-pointing down on the stretched silk of umbrellas, clipping like hard white beans on glass awnings, double-streaming over the two edges of sidewalk clocks."

And to what extent would it appreciate the fact that Miss

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Lowell seems to have exhausted the store of English verbs which can be used to express thunder and lightning: jag, crack, burst, tear, split, jab, rumble, sparkle, boom, gash, spear, lash, dazzle, spurt? Popular stories have quiet moments during which the reader or hearer can think. Miss Lowell's brilliant lightning is incessant; her thunder is unrelieved.

Nevertheless, Before the Storm is striking in its own right, once the discovery be made that it is a very specialized kind of poetry; and the other ten poems in the volume are more so. Three of these, The Ring and the Castle, Dried Marjoram, and Four Sides to a House, greatly gain by being cast in stanzas; in them Miss Lowell becomes less an imagist poet than she has ever been, and more of a human being—possibly more a legend-maker. The four longest pieces, Memorandum Confided by a Yucca to a Passion-Vine, A Legend of Porcelain, Many Swans, and The Statue in the Garden, documented and elaborated and lacquered as they are, throng with beautiful, vivid images which the comparatively few persons who ever take the trouble to master them will not forget: the moon with the fox's footprints on it, Many Swans destroying villages against his will with the heaven-lent snakes of fire, the precious porcelains of Chou-Kiou burning in the kilns of King-te-chin, Julius in his garden with his statuette of lead. "Legends" is incomparably the best of Amy Lowell thus far.

MARK VAN DOREN.

Brandes on Michelangelo

Michelangelo Buonarroti. By Georg Brandes. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

IN the foreword to his most recent work, "Michelangelo Buonarroti," Georg Brandes makes the statement that if Michelangelo had never existed he, Brandes, could never have been the man he is. The reviewer, in taking up these two big volumes, as yet available only in Danish, soon becomes aware of the fact that while the thought of Michelangelo may have occupied Brandes from an early youth, there is good and sufficient reason why he waited until now to give concrete shape to his estimate of the great Florentine. In the very first paragraph of the book we read: "An author who does not write to order has as his aim the expression of his individuality and the presentation of his ideals." With this key it is possible to gain hospitable admittance to a work that is one of the most important literary achievements of the year in Europe and should hold a high place in critical literature for many years to come.

It is perhaps not to be expected that Brandes could add much new material to what for more than four centuries and a half has become cumulative in its effect. He does, however, cover the entire ground, and he does it in his own inimitable manner, making many former biographies look dull and colorless by comparison. Modern criticism has at its command an equipment that synthetic writers like Brandes know how to utilize to the full. For instance, his interpretation of Michelangelo's David, of his Madonnas, of the figures in the sacristy of Lorenzo the Magnificent, of the ceiling in the Sistine Chapel, not only shed new light on what Michelangelo had in mind but take account of the manner in which the work was done. So carefully has Brandes pursued his task that he has minutely set down just how much Michelangelo accomplished each day while painting the Sistine ceiling.

Both as sculptor and painter and architect Michelangelo did most of his work to order. Since he stood under the patronage of papal and other ecclesiastics this was a natural consequence, and it is doubtful whether he could have exercised his genius under different conditions. In discussing his relations with the popes and other protectors Brandes shows himself unchanged in his attitude toward religion. Never during his entire career has he cloaked his bold feelings with respect to religious beliefs. In his Michelangelo, more so perhaps than in any of his other works, he gives full vent to what he believes concerning the religious element in man. Writing about Michelangelo's friendship for Vittoria Colonna, Brandes says that her influence was rather for the worse. His enthusiasm for her was more in the nature of a satisfaction that this noble lady admired him so. In the life of Michelangelo the importance of Vittoria Colonna is this: that it was a channel through which the religious reaction that succeeded the Renaissance reached him and partly took possession of him. "With his penchant for exaltation he proved receptive to an influence that would have had no effect on Leonardo, a contagion against which Leonardo would have been immune. For Leonardo anticipated those modern minds to whom the heavens proclaim less God's glory than that of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, or Einstein."

In spite of the intimate friendship between Vittoria Colonna and Michelangelo, even though Michelangelo as a result of the pious influence of Vittoria Colonna fell under the spell of the penitent religiosity of the time, he continued naively to place groups of nude bodies in his painting of the Last Judgment so that he roused the anger of cardinals and papal officials to such a degree that they had his saved and damned figures furnished with clothes to hide their nakedness. Brandes takes apparent delight in stressing that it is the highest mark of the genius of Michelangelo that he did not allow his spiritual rebirth, as it were, to interfere with his artistic conception and his mental outlook where it concerned his worship of the human form as the finest expression of creation itself.

Georg Brandes is a striking example of persistence winning success and high honors against what at times seemed insurmountable odds. His whole career, in fact, has been a battle against the littleness of life; to him the word stupidity sums up all that is useless, reactionary, antagonistic toward the world's progress. Bearing this fact in mind, the reader of his newest book again and again sees Brandes launch out against the characters that barred Michelangelo's progress and would have laid him low had they been able to accomplish their purpose. In writing of Michelangelo and Raphael, however, Brandes does full credit to Raphael's personality, so much more inviting when compared with that of his fellow craftsman. Amiableness was notoriously not a strong point with Michelangelo. In fact, his very seclusiveness, his brusqueness in dealing with those whom he considered rivals in his art, brought him much condemnation that otherwise could have been avoided. He had not the kindly arts of Raphael, the natural kindness and kind naturalness which made the career of the younger artist so great a contrast to that of Michelangelo. It was genius alone as considered separately from personality that placed the world at Michelangelo's feet and left him no imitator.

With evident relish Brandes lingers over the dignified aloofness that made Michelangelo Buonarroti consider himself a thing apart from his contemporaries. One must be fully conversant with the life-story of Brandes himself to see why this is so. For nearly eighty years this Danish critic has waited to show the world that one may forgive but never forgets. It runs like a red thread through these two massive volumes how four hundred and fifty years before the appearance of Brandes's "Michelangelo Buonarroti" a young Florentine artist had to battle against the world's envy and stupidity, just as sixty years ago a Danish youth struck consternation in the camp of orthodoxy with ideas that might have meant the stake during the time of the inquisition. Today Georg Brandes has more than come into his own. In the evening of his career his theories, if not accepted in their entirety, nevertheless are considered fundamentally sound and material to intellectual progress. When in due time his Michelangelo appears in an English translation it should prove a worthy companion to his William Shakespeare. Not even the World War, during which he stood like a rock assailed on all sides because of a neutral attitude in which he believed with all his heart, could shake Georg Brandes's firm opinion that man must be himself if he is to do anything toward the progress of the race toward intelligence and wisdom.

JULIUS MORITZEN.

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A Post-Bellum Historian

The Age of the Reformation. By Preserved Smith. Henry Holt and Company.

MOST historians of the Reformation begin with chapters on Germany and Luther and fill the rest of the volume with an account of the progress of the Reformation in the other countries of Europe, thus treating the Reformation as a series of national religious movements. Not so Mr. Smith. Very advisedly and skilfully, we think, he has adopted a different plan. He parts his volume in the middle. In the first half, to be sure, he follows convention in outlining the political and religious development of the successive countries from Lutheran Germany to Catholic Spain. He thus gives due recognition to the fact that one of the remarkable features of the sixteenth century was the accentuation of national feeling and the growth of national states, in contrast to the Middle Ages, when there was one universal church, one great literature, and one language for the educated classes. But in the second half of his volume he wisely looks at the tremendous social, economic, and intellectual changes of the sixteenth as a whole. The gentle and intelligent reader may skip, if he chooses, the political narrative of the first half of the volume; but he will absorb with avidity the wealth of fact and thought in the second half, in which the author gives a unified survey of the wonderful changes in social, economic, and intellectual conditions in the age of Luther and Loyola, Fugger and Fust, Machiavelli and Montaigne.

With careful scholarship and lively style Mr. Smith begins this cultural survey by a guarded analysis of the probable wealth and population of Europe in 1500. Europe then had a population about one-fourth as large as at the beginning of the twentieth century, but "the world of 1914 was one hundred and twenty-eight times as rich as it was in 1514," a mathematical figure of speech which the author interestingly illustrates in a variety of ways. He makes accessible in simple form the results of the statistical studies of Wiebe, Lexis, D'Avenel, Haring, and others as to that rise of prices which so mystified and disturbed men in Luther's age—in some respects analogous to the high cost of living which has been disturbing the world for the past half dozen years. Mr. Smith rightly shows that the rise of prices in the sixteenth century—at least before 1560—was not due nearly so much as is commonly supposed to the influx of precious metals from America; it was due rather to the scandalous depreciation of the coinage by dishonest sovereigns like Henry VIII, to new systems of credit, and in a slight degree to the increased output of the silver mines in Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary. The rise of capitalism at this time deepened the gulf between the rich and the poor, partly caused the Peasants' Revolt, and gave rise to increasing luxury and comfort on the part of the upper and middle classes. It caused a whole train of social readjustments which have been epigrammatically described as "the revolution of the rich against the poor." But the contrast between the great variety of conveniences and comforts enjoyed by all classes, even the poorest, today, and the lack of them even among the wealthiest then, is almost incredible. Manners have likewise changed, as witness the story of the Spanish ambassador who called on a lady of luxury. "Her floors were carpeted with velvet rugs, her walls hung with golden cloth, and her tables loaded with costly bric-a-brac. The Spanish courtier suddenly turned and spat copiously in the face of his lackey and then explained to the slightly startled company that he chose this object rather than soil the splendor he saw around him. The disgusting act passed for a delicate and successful flattery."

From economic and social conditions Mr. Smith turns to consider the progress of classical scholarship, historiography, science, education, philosophy, political theory, toleration, and witchcraft; on each of these he has much to say which is thoughtful and novel. Not least interesting is his final chapter, in which he contrasts the different interpretations of the Reformation which have been given by famous writers, each according to the spirit of his own age: the religio-political interpretations of Bishop Burnet, Bossuet, and Sarpi; the rationalist critique of the eighteenth-century philosophers; the liberal-romantic appreciations of Heine, Froude, and Ranke; and finally the economic and evolutionary interpretations of Kautsky, Lamprecht, Troeltsch, Santayana, Harnack, Janssen, and Acton. It is to this latter group that Mr. Smith himself belongs. He has a distinctly twentieth century, even a post-bellum, point of view.

If one were inclined to cavil at certain things it would be to say that the political narrative in the first half of the volume is often rather tenuous; that the author does not betray any glowing enthusiasm for figures who had even so much of the hero in them as Luther. His attitude is expressed in a remark in connection with the Jesuits: "Let us neither praise nor blame, but seek to understand them." Calvin gets rather less recognition than is his due. But perhaps Calvin is out of date; Mr. H. G. Wells did not mention him in his "Outline of History." No mention is made of such an interesting and important phenomenon as the reception of the Roman Law in Germany and its exclusion from England; in this, and in a good many other cases where conditions in different countries were markedly different, as in the economic situation of the peasants, Mr. Smith's method of treating Europe more or less as a unified whole does not allow him adequately to differentiate really important divergences of condition. On the whole, however, this is an unusually excellent book, likely to displace in colleges even Lindsay's two admirable volumes. In fact, we suspect that Mr. Smith has achieved the almost impossible success of writing a book which will be satisfactory as a textbook and at the same time afford attractive pabulum for the general reader. For he has spiced it with metaphor, with humor, and with concrete facts and apt quotations drawn from his wide acquaintance with quaint sources and modern monographs.

SIDNEY B. FAY

South American Colonial Literature

Spanish Colonial Literature in South America. By Bernard Moses. University of California Press.

ODDLY enough the fact is generally overlooked even by the most cultured classes in the United States that literature began to flourish in South America over a century before England appeared in the New World. In Professor Moses's new book the term "literature" is used in the broadest sense, comprehending historical narratives, geographical descriptions, treatises on law and government, and the mystical writings of ecclesiastics. The historical narratives, both in prose and verse, constitute an important section of the works reviewed. Among the earliest of these are the writings of Las Casas and Oviedo, followed by the contemporary accounts of the conquest of Peru, and the Peruvian and Chilean historians belonging to the last half of the sixteenth century. The conspicuous names are those of José de Acosta, Garcilaso de la Vega, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Marmolejo, and Lovera. The long poems, or narratives in verse, form a noteworthy feature of this literature, Ercilla's "La Araucana" holding "the first place both as to time and merit," writes Mr. Moses. An account of Ercilla's imitators, Castellano's metrical chronicles, and Centenera's "La Argentina" fills a number of chapters following that devoted to a discussion of "La Araucana." After the histories and the narrative poems, certain of the ecclesiastics and their religious books and certain writers on law and government are discussed. The last part of the volume deals with the beginnings of a new literature and its outlook toward the war for the emancipation of the colonies from Spain.

The volume brings into light the great amount of literary production in the Spanish colonies as compared with that of the British colonies in America, and in this connection it should

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be examined at the same time as Professor Tyler's "American Literature During the Colonial Time." "This state of things," Mr. Moses writes me, "is in a measure accounted for by the existence in the Spanish colonies of a very large number of men—soldiers, priests, and officials—who derived their support from the state and who were thus relieved from expending their time and mental energy in providing for their material needs; and by a big contingent of celibates, whose activities were not absorbed, as was almost universally the case in the British colonies, in providing for the current wants of families. Moreover, the intellectual class of Spain took more interest in her American possessions than was manifested by any class in Great Britain with respect to the British colonies; and this concern gave rise to a demand for information about the New World, the ways, and the thoughts of its inhabitants, which encouraged writers in Spanish America to satisfy this thirst."

Mr. Moses has gathered the material for this volume from a wide field in the libraries of Lima, La Paz, Santiago de Chile, Buenos Aires, and Madrid; in those of Congress at Washington and of the Universities of California and Harvard; in the British Museum and in the National Library at Paris. "The last two institutions are, from the point of view of resources and availability," Mr. Moses tells me, "the most important in the world for the students of Spanish colonial literature. In the National Library, however, they will encounter certain inconveniences and restrictions that do not appear in the British Museum. There are mysteries in the French catalogue which the beginner has great difficulty in solving. Nevertheless, the richness of the Parish collection, the accumulation of centuries, persuades the student of South American affairs to overlook these vexations in the certainty of finding most of the material he seeks."

Referring again, in an earlier letter, to the volume under review, Mr. Moses writes: "I have not attempted to find the hiding place of those writings that have hitherto failed of publication. They are numerous; but my interest has been chiefly to make note of such books as have been printed and thus brought to the attention of readers. If one were writing to show completely the literary activity of the Spanish-American colonies, one would lay more stress on unpublished manuscripts than I have done. During the last fifty years many works have been printed which have lain in manuscript for various periods of from one hundred to two hundred years, and there are doubtless others that will be brought to light in the next decades."

THEODORE STANTON

The American Soul

L'Ame Américaine. Par Jean Richepin. Paris: Ernest Flammarion.

WHATEVER others may think of us is bound, by virtue of our impulse to conceive our lives as worth while and purposive, to make less of an appeal in our eyes as touching the quick of our intent than what we actually think about ourselves. This was, at all events, the typical attitude of the American doughboy, who probably still regales his fellow legionnaires around the town pump with provoking tales of the odd mannerisms and humors of the "frogs" and "lime-juicers" whom he encountered in his war career. But it is a shortsighted fallacy to believe, conversely, that foreign critics of our *mores* like Mr. W. L. George, or of our literature like M. Jean Richepin, are more prone to jettison their racial or national self-sufficiency when appraising, no matter how disinterestedly, our national character and achievement.

No doubt M. Richepin in the present volume, which is a collection of talks delivered before students, makes every effort to be rigorously just; he inclines, if anything, toward magnanimity, particularly when he comes to consider our contemporary literary output. To the American reader his sources, which are heavily marshaled to support his opinions, will frequently appear amusing; they range from Otto Kahn to obscure undergraduate periodicals. On such subjects as the Redskins, where there is likely to be unanimity of opinion, M. Richepin treads on firm ground. His chapter on the melting-pot is inspired by the Zangwill concept; the facts in themselves are sound enough, but the conclusions are all awry. And this is to be expected since the authorities liberally quoted are such men as Otto Kahn and Jacob A. Riis rather than, say, Randolph Bourne, of whom M. Richepin does not appear to have heard at all.

Being a scholarly and urbane Frenchman, a successful poet and academician, it is not surprising that M. Richepin is able to get his fastidious trephine under the occiput of Benjamin Franklin. M. Richepin hails him from afar as though he were a blood-brother. He recognizes a quality well-nigh Gallic in Poor Richard's "Almanack," in Franklin's penetrating shrewdness, tact, and personal finesse, as well as his *arriviste* outlook on the sum of things. The best M. Richepin, however, can do for Lincoln, apart from retailing the famous whiskey yarn apropos of General Grant, is to compare him with Socrates. Thus even M. Richepin's Gallic aptitude for realism in criticism fails him at the crucial moment. Socrates and Lincoln, apparently, serve merely as handy moral concepts for the distinguished academician; they are transcendental symbols wherewith to embellish the uniform and strut of culture, to adorn a lofty and rhetorical prose, or, it may be, to serve as a fitting cadenza for a mellifluous phrase which is all compact at bottom of just empty wind.

Poe, to be sure, comes in for a generous meed of praise. The customary encomiums are trotted out: he was, in Verlaine's phrase, one of "les poètes maudits," or if you prefer Banville's, one of "les exilés." Indeed, if we look into it, he was thrice exiled: by his hereditary traits; by his country and his age, which "not only failed to understand but actually vilipended him"; and finally, by virtue of his overtopping genius.

In his superfluously decisive comparison of the contribution of Whitman with the contribution of Poe, M. Richepin again makes his bow to eclecticism like a true Latin. "In Whitman," he observes "we will recognize a very great poet, but we are compelled to state that what he lacked was the artistry of Poe. Poe is a greater artist than he." Whereupon, remembering "pauvre Verlaine," M. Richepin proceeds to cast about him for a corporal's guard or so of somber adjectives that seem to yield him inexpressible, clandestine delight: *bizarre, sinistre, macabre,* and *infernal.* Nevertheless the lecturer is at pains to impress upon his auditors that when we know Whitman (as M. Bazalgette knows him, for example) we shall love him; that, moreover, from the European angle at any rate, Whitman is the authentic spokesman for brash, adolescent America. Poe, on the other hand, is the heir of the ages, the scion of Greco-Latin culture, while Whitman, indigenously American to the backbone, nakedly spiritual and magnificently torrential though he may be, is forever beyond the pale of Greco-Latin culture, which demands, above everything else, orderliness and an aroma of Jove-like self-control and mellow criticism.

Concerning contemporary American literature M. Richepin is perhaps pardonably, but certainly most ludicrously, ill-informed. Alan Seeger is the greatest poet he can find in our recent annals. He snatches *un inconnu,* Meyer Agen by name, from the malabolge of utter oblivion. Most of us, even those who patrol up and down the vigilant outposts of modern letters, have caught no whisper of this new poet until this present reference. M. Richepin's sole modern sources have been, one gathers, the *Stars and Stripes,* together with a slender anthology of A. E. F. verse entitled "Yanks." Can it be, one wonders, that M. Richepin stands on a lonely peak in Darien, and that these unknowns will dawn upon us belatedly? It may be so; but so long as our academician persists in citing for admiration such poems as The Sergeant's Stripes we, for one, must remain for all time immutably skeptic.

PIERRE LOVING

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Social Development

The History of Social Development. By F. Müller-Lyer. Translated by E. C. Lake and H. A. Lake. With an Introduction by L. T. Hobhouse and E. J. Urwick. Alfred A. Knopf.

TO the learned author of "Phasen der Kultur," now offered to the world in English garb, the content of history is sociology. Herbert Spencer's wish that the annals of the past might be written without regard to military, political, and personal matters is here realized to the full. After an introductory section on the science and origin of culture (as Kultur is somewhat awkwardly rendered), the author sketches in broad outline, but with sure mastery of the facts, the evolution of food, of tools, of clothing, and of dwellings, and then, in somewhat more detail, of the forms of labor. Various chapters on classification of labor eras are followed by discussion of the progress of culture, the causes of economic development, the theory of progress, and a practical conclusion on Culture and Happiness.

With the erudition, comprehensiveness, and philosophical grasp of the best German school, Dr. Müller-Lyer combines something of the formlessness of the German style. When so much food for thought is offered it may be ungracious, but it is necessary, to point to the main defect of his work, the repetition and the inconsistency of various portions of the book compared with one another. So many classifications are offered of the stages into which civilization and the evolution of labor may be divided that the reader's final impression is apt to be a little confused. The only other important criticism that can be made is that his work, composed some score of years ago, is already in parts out of date. This shows itself partly in the statistics he uses, which never go beyond the year 1895; still more in his anticipations, particularly of the effects of the emancipation of women. One of the systems according to which he classified social progress is by the differentiation of labor; the first stage, or barbarism, characterized by the division of labor between the two sexes; the second, or capitalistic civilization, by the division of labor between groups of men; the third, which will inaugurate socialism, by the differentiation of labor among women. In fact he believes that with the advent of perfect industrial equality between the sexes, the home will be completely organized on institutional lines, and nothing left as women's special field except the bearing of children.

Suggestive and valuable as are the discussions of the evolution of tools, food, clothing, and dwellings, the treatment of the phases of labor-progress is still more important. There was an early kinship phase, a high kinship phase, an early industrial phase (farm and village economy), a high industrial phase (town economy), an early capitalistic phase (in antiquity, which grew, flourished and perished, leaving the world to begin the evolution over again), the high capitalistic phase, dating from the eighteenth century, and the late capitalistic phase regarded as a preparation for socialism, expected in the near future. In this classification there are one or two points open to question. The author allows to some extent for the preparation of modern capitalism in the later Middle Ages and in the sixteenth century, but he does not realize, as few scholars did before Strieder pointed it out, how far capitalism developed on the ruin of the gilds at just this period. Again, the function of money in this evolution, and its nature, are not adequately explained by the author. Had he had the advantage of reading Rudolph Gaulla's "Die Grundlagen des Geldwertes" (1920), he would presumably have done much differently. Gaulla's brilliant thesis, that money is now neither more nor less than a debt of the state to the owner of money, and that a coin, banknote, and bank credit are equally but certificates of ownership in a certain portion of the social wealth, is capable of working into and strengthening Müller-Lyer's conception of social development, but is not used, or anticipated.

One interesting chapter proposes nine laws of social development, or generalizations as to the size, form, differentiation, integration, centralization, and concentration of the economic group. Three general laws are that progress is dependent primarily on invention, which in its turn is due usually to the rise of new conditions through migration or war; that progress tends to go at a continually more rapid rate; and that the increasing differentiation of labor tasks is accompanied by a growth in the size of the economic group, until the limits of a world society are reached.

While the translation is good, there are a few slips indicating rather lack of familiarity with the subject than defective linguistic attainment. One is startled to find Erasmus mentioned as a leading biologist until one realizes that Erasmus Darwin is meant. "Lyle" should be "Lyell," and the Greek word printed "metoken" should be "metoikoi." But we are grateful to the scholars who have rendered a valuable sociological study into English.

PRESERVED SMITH.

The Early Dostoevski

The Friend of the Family, or Stepantchikovo and Its Inhabitants, and Another Story. By Fyodor Dostoevski. From the Russian by Constance Garnett. The Macmillan Company.

OF the two stories in the twelfth and last volume of Mrs. Garnett's admirable translation of Dostoevski, one, "Nyetochka Nyezvanov," was written before his imprisonment; the other, "The Friend of the Family," after his release from the "house of the dead," while he was still in exile in Siberia, and therefore before the appearance of any of the great novels, excepting "Poor People." Neither is of the first importance, but they are interesting and characteristic. The growth of his distinctive dramatic method is evident in the fact that of the earlier story only about one-third, of the later, three-fourths, is in dialogue form. Both can be read comfortably, for the story, and in the case of "The Friend of the Family," for entertainment and the solace of a happy ending. There is no need to fret over the Dostoevski puzzles: none of the characters lives in a "timeless world," nor are they God-tormented; the experimental laboratory has not yet the sinister aspect of a "devil's smithy"; the psychological subtleties do not pass beyond the comprehension of the amateur of Freud.

Nyetochka's stepfather, object of her morbidly passionate attachment, is a marred genius, on the verge of madness, victim of a double delusion of greatness and of persecution. A gifted violinist of unstable character, he lives in his dreams of the future, neglects his talent, and so lets slip all hope of realizing his visions. He swings between the extremes of self-abasement and insane arrogance. In his hand-to-mouth, drink-ruined existence he is supported by his wife, who, having once believed in his dreams, is all the more bitter in her disillusionment. Always seeking an external cause to account for his failures, the violinist—anticipating the Strindberg hero—accuses his wife of crushing his creative power and comes to dream of her death as his only hope of freedom. To rob this dreamer of his illusions is to kill him. It is a double catastrophe when his long-suffering wife dies, thus depriving him of his excuse for failure, and when he hears a world-famous violinist. He nerves himself then for a test of his own powers, tries to play his violin—and knows that he is nothing. The truth blinds him and burns up his reason. He is bound to die when everything that had supported him and had screened him from the truth crumbles away.

"The Friend of the Family" offers no character study of such fascination as that of Yefimov, and no scene of such power as that in the dirty and disordered garret when the tortured violinist creeps home to face reality. But it is admirably sustained on its lower level of comedy and works out its plot through a number of entertaining and surprising scenes in the pleasant country house at Stepantchikovo. One is reminded

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more than once of Dickens: of Mr. Jarndyce and Harold Skimpole, for instance. Dostoevski's "hero," like a favorite English type, a Colonel Newcome, ignores the "moral obligation to be intelligent" and to recognize a rascal when he sees one. He is the predestined victim of the designing schemer, Foma Fomitch. The colonel, bullied into believing himself selfish and egotistical, is in a perpetually apologetic state. Foma's nagging and domineering is the expression of a thwarted will to power, a balked disposition. His ugly, exaggerated vanity had its origin perhaps in an honest sense of personal dignity, outraged from childhood. For years a cringing dependent, a butt, he finds the tables unexpectedly turned in his favor. A base soul, escaping from oppression, in turn oppresses. Foma and his faction wish to force the colonel into a marriage with a rich half-insane old maid, who after years of suppression and poverty has suddenly inherited wealth and permits her dwarfed emotional life to flower into the most fantastic amorous fancies. (Dostoevski needed no instruction by Freudians.) The colonel loves the charming governess of his children, but does not know it. Foma knows it, and attempts to drive her away by slander. But he overshoots the mark, rouses the chivalrous colonel to rebellion, and unexpectedly finds himself flying through the window. With amazing adroitness he retrieves his position, proving that he had all along intended the governess for the colonel and making the whole household feel that they owed their happiness to him. So the colonel remains the dupe to the end of the chapter. But we respect him, for after all, in a lucid interval, he did throw Foma out of the window, even if he let him in again by the door.

DOROTHY BREWSTER.

The Death of Society

The Death of Society. By Romer Wilson. George H. Doran Company.

A GROUP of British women novelists constitutes today the extreme left wing of literary and moral revolution. The veteran May Sinclair leads; there is Miss Storm Jameson and Mrs. Mary Webb; there is Miss Romer Wilson. One sometimes wonders a little humorously in what state of mind the blameless American publisher reprints these books and what would be the fate before his editorial tribunal of an American story with the same doctrines and implications.

Our fiercest native criticism of life is mild compared to that exercised by these English ladies. Our serious novelists rail, with one solid and notable exception, only against the hardening and narrowing of life within the given social and moral order. We shall not call Miss Wilson anarchic. All labels are slanders. But she, even more than Miss Storm Jameson, has reexamined the grounds and character of human life and has come to the conclusion that the existing *mores* of society have ceased utterly to be channels for the expression of characteristic human experience. They are, according to her, mere dams of mud or refuse.

Miss Wilson has the quietude and the detachment of an unalterable conviction which she does not expect a stupid and vicious world to share or even to understand. She is beyond passion and beyond polemic. She uses the form of a parable. But she does not use it to conceal her mind or purpose. Only it relieves her from arguing matters that seem to her beyond argument.

She lets her Englishman who, though he is named Smith, is far from being an ordinary person, drift into the Norwegian country house of Karl Ingman. Ingman is a critic of European reputation. By letting him compare himself to Brandes Miss Wilson escapes having Ingman identified with the eminent Dane. But only so. Their experiences and history show striking similarities. Ingman, we are told, was the prophet and proclaimer and friend first of Ibsen, then of Nietzsche. The point is, however, that with all the cultural experience of modern Europe so intimately within his grasp, so implicated in his personal life, Ingman at sixty is still struggling with fundamental errors and delusions. His emotions have not adapted themselves to the laws of his mind. But there is Rosa Ingman, his wife, who is twenty years his junior and who is not learned except in the sagas and in the necessities of her own and other natures. She is the strangely vague yet burning center of the book and its parable. Ingman argues, wonders, philosophizes still. Rosa knows. Her husband's ultimate wisdom is his reverence for her knowledge. He lets her be and act without quite understanding. Or, at least, he does not permit his shabby but sultry feelings to dictate his acts.

What is it that Rosa Ingman knows? She knows precisely what Miss Wilson desires to convey. The moral forms are gags. The moral concepts are chains. They are just as external, just as unrelated to us, just as cruel as gags and chains upon the flesh of a sane and innocent person. Here are some of the sayings of Rosa Ingman: "I wish men and women saw each other clearly instead of through a fog of right and wrong. . . . I never learned the laws, but I see how things are. . . . Must I wait to do right until the Death of Society? . . . Disappointed old age is eyesight ruined with useless weeping. . . . The enemy of happiness has been the priest and the lawyer; both will soon follow the medicine-man to the grave."

Rosa Ingman foreshadows the people who may, some day, survive that death of society which she predicts. Her nature is entirely unclouded, whole, at one with itself. Hence she is, in a sense hardly understood now, pure and free of all malice, envy, or the desire to rule. Having always followed the laws of her nature she is unpoisoned by unwilling submissions and corroding regrets. She is so clean psychically as to be almost mythical. Although Smith cannot understand Norwegian nor she English their communication is complete by virtue of the spiritual radiance of her unwarped humanity. She chooses him. They live their burning idyl of an afternoon and a night at Wolfsaeter. Then Smith goes back into the world. But he does not go, despite of his adoration of Rosa Ingman, with vain regrets. Nor does he leave her to such. He has dwelled within beauty because he has dwelled within freedom. He is healed and exalted. He has had his vision. He will wait and watch among the dark people of the world for the death of society.

Such is the spirit and the substance of this extraordinary book. It makes no concessions and dispenses with all superficial attractiveness. There is, in its method, something cool and aloof and disdainful. The audience of Miss Wilson will be restricted. But it will be worth having and intense and very watchful.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

Japan and the Counter-Revolution in Siberia

By A. C. FREEMAN

THE counter-revolution which took place in Vladivostok on the 26th and 27th of May must be considered a new step in the development of Japan's program of imperialistic expansion in Siberia. The accounts of the coup presented by various Siberian papers and news agencies bring out very clearly the fact that it owed its success to Japanese intervention.

In order to understand what happened in Vladivostok it is necessary to review briefly the events of the last few months in Siberia. After the fall of Kolchak in the winter of 1919-1920 the eastern frontier of Soviet Russia was advanced to Lake Baikal. Further than this the Russian forces did not advance, probably wishing to avoid a clash with the Japanese. East of Lake Baikal several little states sprang into existence. As a result of the defeat of the reactionary Cossack General Semienov and the capture of his capital, Chita, these little states coalesced in the so-called Far Eastern Republic.

In January, 1921, a constituent assembly was elected, with representatives from all the provinces of Eastern Siberia. The assembly contained a majority of Communists and of peasant party delegates who agreed with the Communists as regards policy. The assembly passed unanimously the following declaration to the nations of the world, which is published in the *Dalnevostochnaya Tribuna* (Far Eastern Tribune), a Social Revolutionist paper printed in Vladivostok, of March 26:

The Constituent Assembly now in session at Chita, elected on the principle of universal suffrage, has sealed the unification of the districts of the Far East, which had always formed a colony of the Russian Empire, into a united Far Eastern Republic, basing its state entity upon principles of democracy, civil liberties, and the right of its own and of foreign citizens to own private property. The mother country has agreed to this separation of the districts of the Russian Far East and to their union as an independent state.

Vast opportunities for a free independent existence are opening before the united people of the Far East. But the success of the new democracy is dependent on certain preliminary conditions, without which all efforts would be futile. The first condition is that the Far Eastern Republic be accepted into the family of independent, self-governing nations as an equal member; the second, that the territory of the Far Eastern Republic be liberated from foreign forces and foreign interference. The Constituent Assembly hopes that for the sake of justice and in the interests of peace the governments and nations of the world will respond to the appeal of the representatives of the Russian Far East and will assist the sovereign government in its work of assuring the population an opportunity for peaceful work and commerce with all nations, by way of official recognition and establishment of regular mutual relations.

Now, the cardinal point of Japan's Siberian policy has always been to prevent the emergence of a strong, prosperous, and united state. How the Japanese imperialists plotted to weaken the newly created Far Eastern Republic by stimulating reactionary revolts in Vladivostok and other towns of the Maritime province is described in abundant detail in the following extracts from the daily bulletins issued by *Dalta*, the Far Eastern Telegraph Agency, and from the columns of the *Dalnevostochnaya Tribuna*. On May 20 the *Tribuna* prints the following item:

Major General Isomura, Chief of Staff of the Japanese forces, has informed Mr. Popov, chairman of the Conciliatory Committee (a body formed for the settlement of Russo-Japanese disputes) that this month the Japanese Command will send expeditions of armed forces to the following sectors: from Nikolsk to Kamen-Ribolov, and toward the southern shore of Lake Hanka; along both sides of the railroad in the Sviagino-Iman sector. This expedition, the Japanese assert, "is of no political or military significance, but is designed solely for the training of the Japanese troops." "This dispatching of Japanese troops into a neutral zone," says Mr. Popov, "is an infringement upon the agreement which has been concluded and it may cause regrettable results, for, according to the agreement, neither we nor the Japanese have a right to send armed units into the neutral zone. The obvious aim of this expedition is scouting, for the Japanese are sending small detachments of about thirty men at a time, with a view to having the entire garrison go through a course of this 'training,' i. e., to have all the soldiers of the Sviagino garrison familiar with the state of affairs and the environment so that they may be ready to profit by this knowledge should circumstances require it."

On the 21st *Dalta* reports a rumor that "Ataman Semienov has left Port Arthur for Vladivostok to take charge of anti-government disturbances which are expected to take place tomorrow."

On the 22nd the *Tribuna* gives the following account of an occurrence in Vladivostok, in which the Japanese, to say the least, played a rather suspicious role:

Since the 26th of April information has been pouring into the state guard headquarters to the effect that the quarters of the staff of a rebel detachment were at 50 Komarovskaya Street, and that machine-guns, rifles, and other arms were stored there. An attempt to institute a search was frustrated, because as it appeared the house was rented by a Japanese, Teizo Hori, who objected to a search, but gave the officials a note signed by him testifying that the Russians residing in his house had no arms.

Recently, in view of the persistent rumors of preparations for a coup, a patrol of the state guards and militia went to 50 Komarovskaya Street for the purpose of searching the house. Upon their arrival the militia officers knocked at the door of the rooms occupied by the above-named Japanese and demanded that he admit them immediately. When he refused they forced their way into the house and commenced to search it. In the first part which they entered they found twenty-five former officers, twelve grenades, one stick of pyroxylin, and cartridges. The quantity of the latter has not yet been ascertained. While the search was in progress in the first two rooms the host hastily ran to the second part of the house, which was subsequently found locked.

While the search was going on a Japanese interpreter appeared and demanded that the militia and guards leave the house. He struck one of the guards while the latter was carrying out his official duty, and was therefore detained and brought to the second militia station.

Then the chief of the Japanese Gendarmerie arrived with an interpreter, and in his presence a search of the first room of the second portion of the house was begun, but the last room of that portion was locked, and all efforts of the guards to have it opened failed. The chief of the Japanese Gendarmerie promised that the Japanese, Hori, should not leave Vladivostok before the investigation of his case was completed. He gave the same pledge with regard to the Japanese who struck the guard; therefore the two were released.

The arrested officers were brought to the district prison. The

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prosecuting attorney of the Vladivostok district court, who has been commissioned to investigate the case, then arrived at the place of the occurrence. We have at the last moment learned that the prosecuting attorney was not allowed by the Japanese gendarmes to commence his investigation.

Here is *Dalta's* description of the Japanese-Kappelist[1] insurrection at Nikolsk, which was apparently a sort of dress rehearsal for the similar movement in Vladivostok three days later:

On the morning of May 23 the acting chief of militia, Kondratenko, appeared with several militia officers at the barracks of the city militia. They locked the exits of the barracks in which the off-duty militia were sleeping. Then Krondratenko with his supporters went to other barracks and stations, surrounded them, and ordered the surrender of arms. Those willing to join the Semienov party were led to the staff headquarters of the Fourth Irkutsk Kappelist Regiment. The militiamen of the Fourth Precinct and the whole of the Nikolsk People's Garrison refused to give up their arms and after long deliberation in the City Hall, where they fortified themselves, they decided to leave the city in order to avoid bloodshed. The coup was engineered by Kappelists under the leadership of the former chief of militia, Chernyshev. The Nikolsk telegraph office is occupied by the Japanese, who are openly with the rebels. The Japanese made searches in the Nikolsk fortress, where they opened boxes containing secret and important documents. In reply to a protest by Mr. Popov, chairman of the Russian delegation on the Russo-Japanese Conciliatory Committee, the Japanese declare that they know nothing of the searches.

What happened in Vladivostok is briefly described in a *Dalta* dispatch of May 31:

According to detailed reports the Vladivostok coup met with stubborn resistance. The militia and the people's guard were fighting incessantly with the Kappelists on both the 26th and the 27th. The casualties on both sides were great. In the skirmishes the chief of the people's guard, Mr. Kazakov, was killed.

The Japanese disarmed the militia all over the city and thus enabled the Kappelists to occupy government establishments and act freely. The shipyard workers offered vigorous resistance to the Kappelists. The headquarters of the trade-union council changed hands several times.

The new government under Mr. Merkoulov has no authority even over the moderate groups. The real masters of the city are Kappelists under General Verjbitsky.

The official Japanese interpretation of the affair is expressed in the following bulletin, issued by the Japanese Publicity Bureau at Vladivostok:

Today, May 27, the disarming of the bolshevik militia has been carried out. The population is temporarily safeguarded by the Japanese. The Japanese authorities with great delight expect the formation of a democratic Russian government.

Merkoulov, head of the new government, is given a rather unfavorable certificate of character by *Dalta:*

Mr. Merkoulov was a notorious follower of Mr. Hondtti, governor-general of Eastern Siberia during the Czarist regime, in a cruel warfare against Chinese labor. Instead of issuing certificates and passports he advocated putting iron bracelets around the wrists of Chinese laborers, inscribed with their names, dates, and other particulars.

At a time when the former Imperial Duma was engaged in working out a bill against Chinese labor Mr. Merkoulov was invited to attend the sessions of the Duma as an expert on this question. His cruel projects provoked opposition even among his followers.

During the recent conference of non-socialistic organizations in Vladivostok Mr. Merkoulov represented the most reactionary faction which advocated Jewish pogroms. Since the flight of Semienov from Zabaikalia Mr. Merkoulov has visited him twice in Port Arthur, where he attended a number of conferences held under the auspices of Semienov and his colleagues.

The new government does not seem to have secured harmonious support, even among the conservative groups. The dissolution of the popular assembly evoked general criticism. The *Golos Rodini,* organ of the Constitutional Democrats, says editorially on May 30:

The three days' czardom of Merkoulov's government has plainly demonstrated the "democracy" of the newly elected persons. The city administration and the council have been disbanded, the zemstvo has been battered out of existence, mass arrests and indiscriminate searches continue, without the knowledge and contrary to the wishes of Mr. Merkoulov, according to his own words. Then we may ask: Who is ruling and where is the government?

Embezzlers of public funds arrested by the former government have been set scot free. The press is subject to censorship. The enlargement of the popular assembly by the introduction of other well-known political groups is contemplated. If this policy continues, it is hard to predict what the end will be. The attitude of the population is decidedly hostile.

The attitude of the various Right papers is thus summarized by *Dalta:*

Mr. Vostrotin says in his *Russky Golos* that the government of Merkoulov must throw down the Communists on the Left and the monarchists on the Right. There is no room for atamans. The lessons of Kolchak's regime and Wrangelism are still generally remembered. The *Nov* appeals for cooperation between the national economic Soviet and the bourgeois cooperative societies. The *Sviet* demands the admittance of Semienov into the government. The *Zaria* attacks Merkoulov's government for the dissolution of the popular assembly.

The rivalry between Semienov and the Kappelist leaders introduces a further element of discord into the situation. On June 3 we are informed by *Dalta* that "Ataman Semienov, contrary to the wish of Merkoulov's government, has arrived at Vladivostok with his staff on the Japanese steamer Kiodo Maru. The Kappelists are taking measures to prevent their landing."

A Harbin dispatch of June 8 contains the following information:

As a result of an agreement patched up between the Merkoulov government and Semienov, the latter has been allowed to land at Vladivostok. It is stipulated that Semienov, for the time being, shall refrain from claiming the supreme authority and shall retire to Grodekovo. As reported by the Japanese Publicity Bureau he is also to undertake an offensive against Amur, Transbaikal, and other regions in conjunction with Ungern.[2]

A *Dalta* dispatch from Chita, dated June 14, contains the following extracts from a note in regard to recent Russo-Japanese relations sent by Mr. Kojevnikov, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Japanese Foreign Office:

It is unnecessary to point out that these actions of the Japanese Command have aroused deep indignation on the part of the Russian population. When you inquired by letter last December whether the Government of the Far Eastern Republic recognized the agreement concluded between the Japanese Command and the provisional government of the Maritime Province, the zemstvo administration, we replied that for the sake of a speedy evacuation of your troops we had ordered our Maritime provincial authorities to observe the agreement closely. Our local

[1] It may be explained that the term Kappelists is applied to the remnants of Kolchak's army. After the downfall of Kolchak's government General Kappel led the remainder of his forces in a difficult retreat through Eastern Siberia. Kappel himself died; but his followers retained his name.

[2] General Ungern-Sternberg's attack on the Far Eastern Republic was decisively defeated, according to subsequent reports which reached this country.

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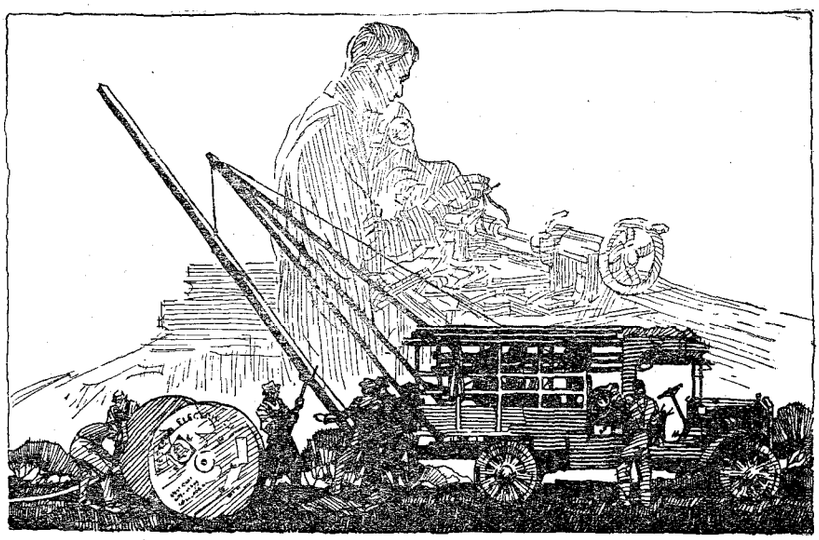

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authorities have scrupulously obeyed our order, and have not violated the agreement entered into with the Japanese Command.

We believe that you are fully aware of the fatal abyss into which both nations have been driven by the actions of the Japanese Command. We, therefore, ask you to take the necessary measures on your part to enable us to introduce our forces into the regions under Japanese occupation immediately for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion and making it possible for the popular assembly, provincial administration, and all the legal representatives of the Far Eastern Republic to resume their normal functions, acting under the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic.

Here is the text of the note addressed on June 4 to the American and British Ministers in Peking by the acting chairman of the Mission of the Far Eastern Republic in China, Mr. A. F. Agarev, concerning Vladivostok:

I have the honor to beg you to communicate to your Government the following statement:

Bands of White Guards, known under the name of Kappelists, have through the support of the Japanese troops succeeded in occupying a part of the Ussurian railway, have forced their way into Vladivostok, and have arrested the local authorities.

They have failed, however, to establish their own authority, as the entire population, the workers, peasants, the general public, and the press, supporting the local authority of the Government of the Far Eastern Republic and its representatives in the Maritime Province, have refused to recognize the new authorities, and consequently the city is now in a state of anarchy.

Such a state of affairs has become possible only because of the assistance of the Japanese troops who are illegally staying in Russian territory. The Japanese Command, in spite of the agreement entered into with the Russian authorities, has not disarmed the anti-government bands, as stipulated in the agreement, but on the contrary has given them full protection and has helped them to arm themselves. All the attempts of the Russian authorities to put an end to the arming and organizing of the bands have invariably been stopped by the Japanese. In order to facilitate the criminal work of the Russian reactionaries the Japanese Command has at the very last moment disarmed the Russian militia, thus helping the mercenaries to create the disturbances.

Since the unification of the different districts in an independent democratic republic has been completed the people of the Russian Far East have elected their Government through the Constituent Assembly, have established the fundamental laws of the Republic, and have set to work in order to restore the commercial life of the country and establish normal commercial relations with foreign countries. This normal work of restoring the commercial activity of the country and of establishing trade relations with other nations is naturally hindered by the disturbances inspired by the intervening troops with the support of criminal elements.

The Government of the Far Eastern Republic regards the presence of the Japanese troops in Russian territory and their interference with the domestic affairs of the country as a violation of the sovereign rights of the Russian people, and considers that all the participants in the Allied intervention are equally responsible for the grave consequences which have followed the intervention, in view of the fact that they guaranteed the inviolability of the rights of the Russian people. Therefore, on behalf of the Government and the people of the Far Eastern Republic, I strongly protest against the illegal conduct of the Japanese troops in the Maritime Province—a protest which I beg you to communicate to your Government. And I wish to express the hope that your Government will consider it its duty to do everything in its power to effect an early withdrawal of the Japanese troops from Russian territory.

I avail myself of this opportunity, Monsieur le Ministre, to assure you of my highest consideration and esteem.

[No reply to the above note has been made public, but an American commission is reported to be in Chita investigating conditions. The Russian Soviet Government has also sent a note to the British and French Governments protesting against Japanese support of the reactionary forces in Vladivostok. In reply Lord Curzon states that Great Britain declines to interfere in the matter in any way. Reports purporting to give the terms on which Japan would consent to recognize the Far Eastern Republic were received in Washington on July 17. A summary of these terms is as follows:

1. The Far Eastern representative must assume a truly democratic character and discard the present communist system of government.
2. Vladivostok must be made a free commercial port, and all the fortifications dismantled.
3. Kabarovsk, Blagovestchensk, and Chita, the principal cities of the republic, must be open for the free inhabitation of foreigners.
4. Foreigners must have free access to coal and forest concessions.
5. The free use of the Amur must be guaranteed.
6. Security of life and property of foreigners must be guaranteed.
7. All former rights enjoyed by foreigners must be held inviolable.
8. The losses of Japanese citizens caused through disturbances in Siberia must be indemnified.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the League of Nations

THE following notification by the British and Japanese Governments relative to the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of July 13, 1911, bearing the signature of Baron Hayashi, Japanese Ambassador in London, and Lord Curzon, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has been received by the Secretariat of the League of Nations under the date of London, July 7, 1921:

WHEREAS, The Governments of Great Britain and Japan informed the League of Nations in their joint notification of July 8, 1920, that they recognized the principle that if the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Agreement of July 13, 1911, is continued after July, 1921, it must be in a form which is not inconsistent with the Covenant of the League,

They hereby notify the League pending further action that they are agreed that if any situation arises whilst the Agreement remains in force in which the procedure prescribed by the terms of the Agreement is inconsistent with the procedure prescribed by the Covenant of the League, then the procedure prescribed by the said Covenant shall be adopted and shall prevail over that prescribed by the Agreement.

It will be remembered that a year ago when the question of the renewal of this Agreement was under discussion between the two Governments a joint notification was forwarded to the League. The text was as follows:

SPA, July 8, 1920.

The Governments of Great Britain and Japan have come to the conclusion that the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of July 13, 1911, now existing between the two countries, though in harmony with the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, is not entirely consistent with the letter of that Covenant which both Governments earnestly desire to respect. They accordingly have the honor jointly to inform the League that they recognize the principle that if the said Agreement be continued after July, 1921, it must be in a form which is not inconsistent with that Covenant.

(Signed) CHINDA,
(Signed) CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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